# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

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*FBIS-SOV-88-195* *7 October 1988*

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## Arms Reduction Experts Conclude Moscow Meeting

*LD0610205688 Moscow TASS in English 1817 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—The improvement of the world climate that followed the strengthening of positions of a new political thinking in interstate relations, primarily in relations between the two great powers, opens up broad opportunities for a radical consolidation both of European and global security. This is the unanimous opinion of participants in a press conference held here today upon the end of a three-day meeting of experts on the reduction of the armed forces and armaments in Europe from the USSR, the U.S., West Germany, Denmark, Belgium and Italy. The meeting was held in Moscow on the initiative of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation and the Institute for Global Conflicts and Cooperation of University of California.

Participants in the meeting stated that in the course of discussions the similarity of views had been revealed on some fundamental problems of ensuring European security, for instance, on the need for changing the structure of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO groups in central Europe for the purpose of dramatically reducing their offensive potential.

A discussion on practical measures for the realization of military detente in the region revealed a variety of approaches not only on the level of delegations of various countries. Thus, Soviet experts suggested in the course of the discussion at least three ways towards the reduction of the level of military confrontation in central Europe.

Assessing the Moscow dialogue, Alan Swidler, professor of the Institute on Global Conflicts and Cooperation of University of California, pointed out that the discussions had been open and constructive, that they had been held on very high level of competence. "The exchange of views showed the striving for a joint solution of problems, for a compromise-based settlement of very complicated issues. A durable system of European security cannot be created without resolving them", said Aleksey Arbatov, head of a department of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations under the USSR Academy of Sciences.

## Correspondent Sums Up Talks

*LD0610210788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] In Moscow today, an international meeting of scientists and specialists on problems in the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe has ended. Our correspondent Aleksandr Korshunov was accredited to the meeting. He is in our studio at the moment, and I am asking him to tell us about the discussion in greater detail. Over to you, please.

[Korshunov] First of all, Aleksandr Nikityevich, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the conference in Moscow brought together a very interesting circle of participants. The Soviet side was represented by scientists, experts of the CPSU Central Committee, Defense Ministry, and Foreign Affairs Ministry. The U.S. side was represented by political scientists and specialists in strategy and armaments from the most diverse scientific centers, including such well known ones as the Rand Corporation and the International Center for the Assessment of Soviet Politics. Admittedly, these corporations form a kind of a source which feeds the U.S. ruling group with ideas.

In addition, among those taking part there were representatives from European countries: Italy, the FRG, and Denmark. They held a conversation about the prospects for reducing what are generally called conventional weapons in Europe, such as tanks, artillery, aircraft, and armaments for fighting at sea.

These questions were considered in the general context of the development of the all-European process. Undoubtedly, the fact that the participants of the meeting represented states which are members of various military and political blocs also had an influence on the progress of the discussions. Naturally, diametrically opposed positions were frequently expressed. What is interesting is that this was characteristic not only for Western representatives but also for the Soviet ones.

A great deal of attention was paid to interpretations of the concept of sufficiency of armaments for defense, to the nature and substance of the new defense doctrine adopted by the Warsaw Pact, and to the problem of verification and limitation of arms supplies to zones of regional conflicts—so-called hotspots.

## Chernyshev Views Lessons of Weapons Test Treaty

*LD0610204388 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

The treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and underwater, the Moscow treaty, has entered into force on October 10, 1963. That event was the first major success in the struggle for limitation of the nuclear arms race. Now, 25 years later, with the USSR and the United States being engaged in full-scale negotiations on limitation, and in the future, termination of nuclear tests, I think it would be useful to have a glance back and take into account the lessons, linked with the elaboration and signing of the 1963 treaty.

The practical accord was above all a reflection of a certain evolution in Washington's views on the disarmament problem.

Underlying the president's initial interest in disarmament were mostly propaganda reasons: the desire to exert influence upon the world public opinion, one of John Kennedy's aides, T. Sorensen, later recalled. But then the president started increasingly realising that there was no ultimate security in armaments, that tension and danger were growing along with the growth of nuclear arsenals.

There is every indication that the Moscow treaty on nuclear tests was considered by the president and his entourage not only as a separate significant agreement on restraining the nuclear arms race, but also as the starting point for carrying out further measures towards relaxation of international tension. The treaty could seemingly be regarded as a practical manifestation of non-traditional thinking, struggling through cold war barriers.

One should meanwhile point to one more lesson linked with the history of ratification of the treaty. While directly defending the Moscow treaty as a measure of peace, representatives of the U.S. Administration broadly extolled it as a means of quite different type—the means of preserving military advantages of the United States.

It was, specifically, asserted that while restricting nuclear tests to the underground medium in which explosions are more difficult and more expensive, and in which the USA has more experience, Washington can allegedly retard Soviet progress and prolong the period of technological superiority of the United States. It was also repeatedly underlined that the treaty was "a product of American force".

All that shows how profound was the Washington administration's allegiance to American military force, calculations on preservation in that or other form, including military-technological, of some power superiority of the United States over the Soviet Union. And in the future, as we know, it was exactly that course which prevailed in Washington's policy.

And, finally, the third lesson. It is to be admitted right out that a negative attitude to on-site control, which was current with us for a long time, was one of the pretexts used by certain Western circles to raise barriers to full prohibition of nuclear tests. Moreover, under that pretext the United States has not ratified the U.S.-Soviet treaty on the limitation on underground nuclear weapon tests (1974) and the treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes (1976).

One is now witnessing a fundamentally new situation which enables advancement towards full prohibition of nuclear explosions. Control can no longer be used by Washington as a pretext for giving up such advancement. The USSR stands for diversified measures of control—both national and international—with on-site inspection. Being in favour of immediate and comprehensive prohibition of nuclear tests, our country meanwhile takes into account real conditions and real preparedness of other nuclear powers, above all the United States, which still cannot get rid of "nuclear deterrence" blinkers. The USSR is ready for a gradual, stage-by-stage solution of the problem of nuclear tests. The joint Soviet-American experiment on control over nuclear explosions opened up possibilities for ratification of the 1974 and 1976 treaties. Then the next step could be done—a radical reduction of threshold capacities and the number of nuclear explosions a year. The ultimate goal is to come at an accelerated pace to conclusion of a treaty on universal and complete prohibition of tests of nuclear weapons. It is now Washington's political will that should have its say.

## Perfilyev Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 6 Oct

### Brazil's Sarney To Visit

*LD0610150388 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—An official visit to the Soviet Union of Jose Sarney of Brazil due to take place on October 17 through 21 will create objective preconditions for the development of bilateral cooperation between our two countries and the expansion of the scope of their joint actions in the international arena. This was stated at a briefing here today by Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

He said that after a civilian government had come to office in Brazil in 1985 and had started a process of democratic transformations, a more favourable atmosphere had been created for the development of Soviet-Brazilian relations, including in a political sphere.

On the initiative of the Brazilian side, Olavo Egydio Setubal, minister of foreign affairs of Brazil, paid an official visit to the USSR, the first such visit in the history of Soviet-Brazilian relations. The exchange of messages between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Jose Sarney of Brazil became a constructive element of Soviet-Brazilian political relations.

Meetings of foreign ministers of the two countries during sessions of the U.N. General Assembly are now held on a regular basis, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman continued. A mechanism of political consultations between the two countries created in December 1985 is working well. Interparliamentary ties have been developing successfully in the past several years. Regular exchanges of delegations of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the National Congress of Brazil have been going on since 1980. There exist opportunities for the development of relations between public organizations.

According to Perfilyev, both sides show interest in a further expansion of political relations and the deepening of a dialogue. We hope that the visit of Jose Sarney to this country will serve this purpose, he said.

### Reviews Afghanistan Situation

*LD0610151788 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—Afghan Government troops have broken the blockade of the district centre of Paghman, Kabul Province, after fighting that went on for several days.

Security posts have been restored in the district. Large groups of rebels have been routed in the operation, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Ministry's Information Directorate, observed that differences in the struggle for power were mounting between various groups of Afghan armed opposition, which led to major armed clashes.

"These differences do not prevent them, however, from committing more crimes," he observed, noting that the rebels used West-supplied weapons against civilians.

Schools, playgrounds, the Higher Education Ministry, the university and densely populated neighbourhoods in Kabul were subjected to shelling, Perfilyev said.

More civilians than servicemen were killed, he pointed out. The mujahidins described as infidel the Moslems who simply did not fight on their side. That gave them the "right" to kill their innocent compatriots.

Addressing to journalists, Perfilyev said that the task of the mass media which undoubtedly possessed an immense potential of influencing the public, was in giving an honest assessment of the crimes, rather than relishing episodes of the bloody tragedy that befell the Afghan people.

### Comments on UN Session

*LD0610162488 Moscow TASS in English 1601 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—"One can state with every reason that a constructive dialogue was started at the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly which is characterized by the desire of most of its participants to give up stereotypes of the past and to concentrate their efforts on businesslike quest for coordinated approaches to acute problems of the present-day world, to ensure the consolidation of legality and trust in international relations," Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has stated.

Speaking at a briefing here today, he pointed out: "We are satisfied that words of recognition of the international significance of the perestroyka, democratization and glasnost process in the Soviet Union were heard from the rostrum of the United Nations Organization. Many participants in the session believe that this opens up prospects of a further consolidation of an atmosphere of trust and the organization of multilateral cooperation in the key spheres of international security."

Commenting on an article published by THE NEW YORK TIMES on October 2 under the headline "To Play in Asia, Moscow Has To Pay," Perfilyev said: "One cannot fail to notice the attacks on the policy of the USSR and some other countries of the region contained in the article. It can hardly be regarded as rightful that authors of the article put forward a number of conditions under which the USSR can allegedly take active part in the political and economic life of the Asia-Pacific region,

and at the same time arrogate to themselves the right to speak on those issues on behalf of other countries of the region.... The impression is that the article is an attempt to undermine trust in the new Soviet initiatives. The methods used in this case are more typical of the 'cold war' times than of the present-day international relations in which a new thinking is gaining in strength."

The Soviet diplomat pointed out the important and timely character of a preparatory meeting of representatives of the heads of parliaments of a number of Mediterranean countries held in Nicosia. He specially pointed out the goals set by its sponsors: to work for the withdrawal of foreign fleets from the Mediterranean along with the elimination of any foreign military presence in the region which should be carried out simultaneously or at a corresponding stage.

There is no doubt that the raising of this problem reflects the growing concern of Mediterranean nations over a high level of military, including nuclear confrontation in the region. "The USSR welcomes the efforts of parliamentarians of Mediterranean countries aimed at convening such a conference, they are consonant with the initiatives of the USSR on the Mediterranean region, specifically those that were set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev during his visit to Yugoslavia last March," Perfilyev said.

### Rogachev News Conference on Asia-Pacific

*LD0610141188 Moscow TASS in English 1402 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—A news conference on the USSR's Asia-Pacific policy was held at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press centre here today.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev told newsmen that much had been achieved in two years since Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev advanced his Vladivostok initiatives.

These proposals proved to be topical and vital, they produced positive results both in the sphere of developing bilateral relations with the majority of countries in the region and in improving the overall atmosphere in the Asia- Pacific region.

"This does not mean, however, that everything is going on smoothly," Rogachev observed.

The objective and critical consideration of the post-Vladivostok experience made it possible to formulate the Krasnoyarsk initiatives, which expanded the programme advanced in Vladivostok.

The Soviet diplomat singled out four basic directions.

First. The Soviet leader appealed in Krasnoyarsk not only to the United States, but also to other countries in the region with large military potentials to start discussing Soviet and other proposals related to the real movement towards arms reduction.

Second. The Krasnoyarsk statement put forward new major ideas on establishing and invigorating cooperation among the Asia-Pacific countries in environmental protection, development of cultural exchanges, tourism and so on.

Third. The USSR reaffirmed its readiness to step up efforts to deepen mutually beneficial, equitable relations with all Asia-Pacific countries, irrespective of their size and social system.

The fourth direction covers a broad package of measures aimed at imparting dynamism to the Soviet Union's foreign economic ties with all states in the region without exception.

The package of ideas and proposals making up the Krasnoyarsk initiatives is becoming active in world politics, Rogachev said. "One cay say that there is no alternative to the onward movement along the path of building new relations in the Asia-Pacific region on the basis of the Krasnoyarsk initiatives."

The ultimate goal of the USSR's foreign policy effort in the Asia-Pacific region was to set up a durable and comprehensive structure for stable and interrelated cooperation of countries and peoples, which would meet the political and economic interests of all participants, the Soviet diplomat pointed out.

### Soviet Policy Seen Gaining Trust

*LD0610230488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A press conference in Moscow today dealt with the policy of the Soviet Union in the Asia-Pacific region—from Vladivostok to Krasnoyarsk. Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, recalled that the USSR's Asia-Pacific policy, which was brought to the fore just over 2 years ago and which has been expanded, has proved its topicality and viability. Recently in Krasnoyarsk, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev delivered a speech which not only sums up the first results from the implementation of this program, but also specifies further paths to advance it.

Comrade Rogachev said:

[Begin Rogachev recording] The complex of ideas and proposals which form the Krasnoyarsk initiatives is entering the life of world politics. This will, of course, not be easy. However, it is possible to claim with confidence that there is no alternative to advancing along the path of

building new relations in the Asia-Pacific region on this basis. This conclusion is also confirmed by the reaction to the Krasnoyarsk initiatives in the countries of the region. This reaction is, on the whole, positive. Of course, this does not exclude the diversity of opinions in individual positions. It is pleasing that trust in Soviet policy in the Asia-Pacific region is growing. [end recording]

The Krasnoyarsk initiatives exerted a great influence on the international meeting entitled "The Asia-Pacific Region—Dialogue, Peace, and Cooperation" which was held recently in Vladivostok. Academician Primakov, chairman of the Soviet National Committee for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, said this when answering questions. He stressed that a serious conversation in the spirit of these ideas was conducted at the meeting.

**Communique on Vladivostok Meeting on Asia-Pacific**
*LD0310162688 Moscow TASS in English 1548 GMT 3 Oct 88*

["Communique of the Vladivostok Meeting"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—Follows the full text of the communique of the Vladivostok meeting:

On October 1-3, 1988, an international meeting "Asian-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation" sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences jointly with the Soviet National Committee for Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation was held in Vladivostok.

The meeting was attended by 106 political and public men, scientists, representatives of business world, workers of culture and mass media from 36 countries of Asia, Pacific Ocean and a number of European states.

The welcome message by General Secretary of the CC CPSU M.S. Gorbachev was listened to with great attention and interest.

The speakers at the plenary meeting were Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs I.A. Rogachev and vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, president of the Far-Eastern branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Academician V.I. Ilyichev.

Animated and substantial discussions took place in three sections: "political and military problems", "economic development and regional cooperation", "cultural and mass communication issues".

The speakers had a possibility to express their points of view on the urgent problems of the Asian-Pacific region, discussed questions associated with the search for ways to provide for security and cooperation in the region.

At the final plenary meeting, section chairman set forth the main content of the discussions.

In the course of the discussion many orators expressed their opinions about the advisability of continuing the dialogue, on the expediency of turning Vladivostok meeting into regular ones.

The participants in the meeting expressed their sincere gratitude to the leaders and all residents of Vladivostok and Primoriye territory for their hearty welcome and hospitality.

**Scientific Conference on Socialism Continues**
*PM0610135188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Oct 88 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "International Scientific Conference. Socialism Today and Tomorrow"]

[Text] The chief feature of the concept of modern socialism is its profoundly humanist thrust, which places man at the center of attention. The implementation of the economic reform, the democratization of the political system, and the enhancement of education, culture, and the entire spiritual life of society accord with this principle. These are the conclusions drawn by the participants in the international scientific conference "Topical Problems of the Development of Modern Socialism," which continued its work in Moscow 5 October.

Prominent representatives of the social sciences from socialist countries have shown great interest in this event. The analysis, comparison, and generalization of the materials of the crucial party forums held recently in the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, scientists believe, are of great significance for in-depth research into the development processes of socialist society and the modern world toward the end of the 20th century.

Special-interest group discussions began in the lecture halls of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, which is hosting the meeting for 3 days.

A.G. Aganbegyan, secretary-academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Department, who delivered a report in the section "Questions of the Theory and Practice of Socialist Management and Experience of Economic Reforms," devoted his address to problems of the search for forms and methods of management capable of ensuring the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in socialist countries and radically restructuring the economy. A large group of countries, including the Soviet Union, the scientist stated, has reached the conclusion that the most urgent task is radical economic reform, that is, a switch to a completely different model of socialist management.

In elaborating the policy of restructuring the political system and deepening democracy, the CPSU and the fraternal parties do not proceed just from the need to sharply advance socialism and to lend it dynamism and

a new quality. This process is also regarded as continuing and developing the traditions of democracy and ensuring its inherent humanism and general human aspirations. These problems are being discussed by social scientists in the section on "Ways To Democratize Social Life and To Ensure Socialist Legality." Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, who spoke there, emphasized that for communists, democracy is the essence of the state, as well as the organic basis of the state and social system.

In the section "Tasks of Social Sciences in Resolving Problems of Improving the Spiritual Sphere and Way of Life" Academician G.L. Smirnov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, pointed out that the social sciences now are a huge and significant part of spiritual life, in which there is more freedom, initiative, incisiveness, and interest in defending positions. Socialist pluralism is becoming not only a means of expressing interests and opinions but also a means of resolving problems, and is turning into the natural state of spiritual life in developing socialist society.

The humanist principles of mankind's survival and development are the basis of the CPSU's foreign policy and vigorous international activity, P.N. Fedoseyev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, pointed out in the section "New Political Thinking and Problems of International Cooperation." Lenin's clear-cut thesis on the primacy of the interests of social development as a whole above all others, including class interests, has played the paramount role in both the theoretical and the practical substantiation of the foreign policy course of the CPSU and the Soviet state. The spirit of socialism's renewal being followed by the CPSU, the scientist emphasized, is consonant with the aspirations of the socialist countries' peoples.

Confirmation of these words by the Soviet scientist could be found many times over in the conference speeches of social scientists from fraternal countries. More than 100 scientists have come to the Moscow forum from 11 socialist community states. In addition to common and unified fundamental theses on the concept of modern socialism, however, they have expressed many views at the conference concerning the specific nature—peculiar to their country alone—of practical work in the renewal of socialist society.

The conference of social scientists from socialist countries is continuing its work.

### Abalkin Addresses Conference

*LD0510161688 Moscow TASS in English 1556 GMT 5 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 5 TASS—"Concern over the destinies of socialism stimulates an extensive search by social scientists in all socialist countries and calls for a broad exchange of ideas and experience," a Soviet economist has pointed out.

Academician Leonid Abalkin acts as co-chairman of the economics section at the international scientific conference on topical issues of the development of present-day socialism, now in its second day in the Soviet capital.

Social scientists from the socialist community are taking part in the meeting.

The economist told TASS that socialism was facing a new challenge of history, which demanded a reply to the question of whether that social and political system was prepared for renewal, for the combination of high efficiency in production with the preservation of all social values.

"This largely determines activity of scientists and dissimilarity in their assessment and approaches," he added.

In the opinion of Abalkin, one of the key issues of the conference was renewal of concepts of property. "It is necessary to overcome the formal view that the assertion of state ownership was sufficient for recognizing it as socialist.

"It is clear today that this is not sufficient.

"Much attention is being given to problems of economic equilibrium, balance of economic growth and use of all possibilities offered by present-day science and technology."

Exchange of views on many other issues was equally important, he said. In preparing for the solution of such a delicate problem as price forming, the Soviet scientists could not ignore the difficult experience of Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia.

The Soviet scientist paid attention to the fact that diverse viewpoints were expressed on such major problems. The former habit of ostentation and stressing the unity of views had added formalism to science and hindered the search for the truth.

"The Moscow scientific conference will enrich the theoretical thought of social scientists and help give sobering assessments of many problems, which will help avoid hasty decisions and strengthen the positions of socialism around the world," Abalkin said.

### Participants Hold News Conference

*LD0610043588 Moscow TASS in English 2054 GMT 5 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 5 TASS—Today, participants in the international scientific conference "Topical Problems of Development of Modern Socialism" met with Soviet and foreign newsmen. The conference is now on in the Soviet capital.

Boris Koval, deputy director of the Institute of the International Workers Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who spoke to newsmen, said that the holding of the conference was necessary to gain a more profound understanding of the frontiers of societal development reached and of its further prospects. Without detracting from the accomplishments of socialism as a new social system, one ought to admit that it is in need of a profound qualitative renovation.

An important source for shaping a new concept of socialism, Boris Koval went on to say, is the analysis of the collective experience of the socialist countries. "In the process, the modern notions of socialism cannot be evolved without establishing a congruity of our ideals and goals with contemporary practice," he said. "Socialism must develop such a political system that would take account of the real structure of society, of the variety of interests and aspirations of all social groups, and of the commonality of people. What is at issue is, of course, healthy, morally justified interests which do not run counter to the principles of the socialist system."

"In trying to understand the nature of socialism, it is necessary to get back to the Leninist understanding of peaceful coexistence, ridding it of deformations and 'accretions'," said Valeriy Zhuravlev, deputy director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee. "Both systems interact within the framework of the same human civilisation. This is especially evident now when it is common human values that are moving to the forefront in international relations. And at the same time there can be no question of the two systems' convergence: Each continues to develop in accordance with its own laws."

## UN Report Notes Call for Peace in S. Atlantic

*LD0710085688 Moscow TASS in English 2150 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] New York October 7 TASS—In the U.N. secretary general's report, published here on October 6, there is (?a most) insistent call for continued activities to promote compliance with the resolution on establishing a zone of peace and cooperation in the South Atlantic. In the report there are replies of the (?governments) of UN member countries on their attitude to establishing such a zone which was proclaimed by the U.N. General Assembly in 1986.

That initiative is a clear indication to the determination of the developing countries of the region to undertake their share of responsibility for preservation of peace and reduction of tension, Brazil says in its reply. To consolidate such a zone it is necessary that all states which are in that zone should undertake the obligation to enter into negotiations for peaceful settlement of disputes between themselves or other states which do not belong to that region, says the Mexican Government.

Argentina's Government notes in its reply that Britain held military exercises in the South Atlantic in the area of the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, and gradual militarisation of that archipelago is a source of tension, imperiling peace and security. Argentina stresses the need for the early (?and) comprehensive settlement of the question of elimination of military presence of states of other regions in the South Atlantic, and also the need for a ban on deployment of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction there.

In the replies it is underlined that the goals of peace and cooperation in south Africa will not be fully attained until Namibia becomes independent, and until the apartheid system, which continues oppressing the majority of the South African population, is abolished.

The Soviet Union is consistently in favour of establishing peace zones, free from nuclear weapons, in different parts of the globe, and, on its part, it is ready to further this goal in a practical way, the USSR says in its reply. The Soviet Union reaffirms its readiness to discuss with the participation of the United States and other major naval powers, and also South Atlantic states, the question of taking proper measures aimed at materializing the U.N. General Assembly's call that military presence be reduced in that area, that nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction be not deployed there. Practical steps for ensuring reliable guarantees of safety of sea lanes in the South Atlantic would also be of great significance, the USSR believes.

## Soviet Proposal Favors Strengthening UN Role

*LD0610195688 Moscow TASS in English 1941 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] New York October 6 TASS—The Soviet Union proposed that the possibilities of the U.N. as a true centre for agreed efforts of all states in resolving the task of saving the present and future generations from the scourge of war be strengthened. Proposals on positive revitalization of international relations and expansion of agreed efforts of the international community are set out in a report by the U.N. secretary general issued today on implementation of resolutions of its General Assembly in the sphere of disarmament. The report cites the opinion of the Soviet Government on this question.

The 3rd special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament mapped out important areas of agreement on this key question. Though session delegates could not agree the final document, nevertheless, the session turned to be, on the whole, a useful forum, a kind of a laboratory of new thinking, holds the Soviet Union.

The USSR fully shares the opinion that the U.N. role could be substantially strengthened by stepping up efforts of states on honest implementation of General Assembly resolutions. The importance of U.N. recommendations on pressing international problems rises

under the conditions of growing interdependence and integrity of the present-day world. Efficiency of these decisions is a key problem of building a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

In the opinion of the Soviet Union, the report points out, it would be important to raise the moral and political mandatory nature of the status of all political documents and resolutions (including those on disarmament) adopted by the U.N., above all those approved by consensus. Consensus resolutions, reflecting an agreed approach of all U.N. member states, contribute in the best possible way to the development of a business-like and non-confrontational dialogue in drafting U.N. resolutions on disarmament.

**Further Greetings to Gorbachev on Election**
*PM0610162788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 88 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Greetings Telegrams to M.S. Gorbachev"]

[Excerpts] Telegrams from party figures and statesmen from the countries of the world continue to flood in to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in connection with his election as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [passage omitted]

A telegram from Egyptian President Muhammad Husni Mubarak says:

"I beg you to accept the most cordial congratulations on the occasion of your election as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

"I send you and the friendly Soviet people best wishes for success in the efforts you are making to strengthen the edifice of world peace and also to contribute effectively to the cause of settling international and regional conflicts." [passage omitted]

"It gives me satisfaction," Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution and head of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, writes, "to sincerely congratulate you on your election to the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

"I am sure that the trust shown in you will lead to the consolidation of the innovative approach and will facilitate bold new steps in building a society based on people's power. The prevention of crisis ideological phenomena is opening up the possibility of boosting to new heights the cause of socialist construction that incorporates the implementation of people's democracy, the affirmation of the people's ownership of national wealth, and the just distribution of this wealth between citizens with a view to resolving once and for all political and economic problems.

"Dear friend!

"May God bless your work in your new post. I express the conviction that the cooperation between our friendly countries will continue to develop in our joint struggle against the common enemy in order to achieve our common aims of prosperity and peace."

Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan writes:

"Your Excellency, on behalf of the government and people of Pakistan and also from myself personally, I send Your Excellency cordial greetings and sincere congratulations on the occasion of your attaining the high post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

"I am sure that the Soviet people will rapidly advance toward the aim that they are endeavoring to achieve under your dynamic and shrewd leadership.

"We are also filled with the hope that the relations that exist between Pakistan and the Soviet Union will be consolidated for the common good of our two peoples under your bold leadership. I am firmly convinced that the relations of good-neighborliness and cooperation between Pakistan and the Soviet Union can make a considerable contribution to the cause of peace in our region.

"I take this opportunity to wish Your Excellency good health, long life, and happiness, and also progress and prosperity for the great Soviet people." [passage omitted]

**Government Approves Ozone Protection Protocol**
*LD0610181488 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—The USSR Council of Ministers took a decision on the approval by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of the Montreal protocol on substances destroying the ozone layer to the Vienna convention on the protection of the ozone layer.

## United States & Canada

### Reagan 'Rhetoric' on Jewish Emigration Viewed

*LD0610213088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Charikov commentary on Reagan speech at U.S. capital ceremony for museum memorializing Jewish victims of 'Hitlerite fascism' ]

[Text] REUTER reports from Washington that U.S. President Reagan spoke in the U.S. capital at a ceremony for laying the foundation stone of a memorial museum in memory of Jewish victims of Hitlerite fascism during World War II. In his speech the President attacked the USSR for allegedly hindering the emigration of persons of Jewish nationality. At the microphone is our commentator Igor Charikov.

[Charikov] During the years when I was working in Austria I paid several visits to the former Nazi concentration camp, Mauthausen, where traditionally every first Sunday of May there is a gathering of surviving prisoners of that camp together with anti-fascists from practically all the countries of Europe as well as from the United States and Canada. An Israeli delegation also attends. An international meeting is held on the site of the former Appelplatz, and wreaths are laid at the memorials, including that of the Soviet General Krabyshev.

The meetings at Mauthausen, like those at other former Nazi concentration camps as far as I know, have become demonstrations by the progressive public in support of the idea of internationalism and against the revival of fascist ideology and other forms of racial hatred and intransigence. That is why frankly, it was strange to hear nationalist hostile themes in the U.S. President's speech at the laying of the foundation stone of a memorial to the victims of fascism.

The subject of Jewish emigration from the USSR has for many years been—and regrettably still remains—in the arsenal of the knights of the cold war. They turn to it whenever it has been necessary to open another anti-Soviet anti-socialist campaign or a new stage of the crusade against the USSR. I have to say that this subject has been losing it piquancy as propaganda over the years, because the policy of the Soviet leadership on emigration from the USSR deprives our opponents of all their arguments. President Reagan said in his speech that there are tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of Jews in the USSR who long for exit visas and are not getting them. Who has felt this need to appeal to figures that have clearly been dreamed up and plucked from thin air and wrap them in tendentious rhetoric? Whatever others may or may not have been told, President Reagan himself has been personally informed of how many persons of Jewish nationality emigrated from the USSR last year, and how many have done so in the first months of this year. He also knows the exact number of so-called persons refused permission to emigrate [otkazniki]. Why, then, is he once again trying to whip up passions and blow up nonexistent problems? Perhaps this is to the advantage of the Zionist circles which are trying to distract the attention of the world public in this way from the genocide that they themselves are perpetrating against the Palestinians in the Israeli occupied Arab lands?

It's no accident that in the same speech, President Reagan allowed himself an outburst against the United Nations, which in his opinion ought to rescind Resolution 3379, passed in 1975, which describes Zionism as a form of racial discrimination. We know that that resolution by the world body aroused fury both in Israel and in South Africa, and continues to evoke their anger. But Tel Aviv and Pretoria have nothing to be angry about. Israel's policy in the occupied lands, and its collaboration with an openly racist regime, provide incontrovertible proof of the correctness of the UN General Assembly's assessment 13 years ago.

### Ryzhkov Receives President of U.S. Corporation

*LD0610230688 Moscow TASS in English 2225 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 7 TASS—On October 6 Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received in the Kremlin Harry Laurance Fuller, president of the U.S. petrochemical corporation Amoco, who arrived in Moscow to conduct talks with Soviet organizations on establishing with them technical and economic cooperation.

The sides examined, in a broad context, possibilities of the sides on realization of this cooperation, as well as related practical questions of using new forms of economic relations, in part, establishment of joint enterprises on the basis of Soviet oil and gas deposits.

H.L. Fuller confirmed readiness of the Amoco company to participate in establishing cooperation in this sphere, using appropriate American experience and technology.

Describing the state of trade and economic relations between the USSR and the USA, Nikolay Ryzhkov pointed out that, though some improvement had shaped up in the past few years, however, the dynamics of these relations seriously lagged from the positive changes which had taken place in Soviet-American political relations as a result of summits between the leaders of the two countries.

It was pointed out that the radical economic reform in the Soviet Union, the progress of perestroyka as a whole, as well as the growing interest of U.S. business in expanding business relations with Soviet partners create conditions for a radical turn in cooperation between the two countries. This would also have a positive effect on further stabilization of the entire range of bilateral relations.

The meeting was attended by Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister for foreign economic relations.

### Shultz View of 'Fruitful' UN Talks Cited

*LD0710012888 Moscow TASS in English 2309 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] New York October 7 TASS—On Thursday U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz held here a press conference where he summed up the results of the two weeks of meetings with representatives of 132 states during his participation in the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly. Shultz noted that, according to general opinion, the present session was the most interesting General Assembly characterized by a desire for addressing problems so as to resolve them rather than to fight them. Now the general atmosphere at the U.N. is more positive than earlier.

Shultz noted that real progress was registered on many problems. In this connection he pointed, above all, to the talks with the Soviet Union on regional problems, which, as he put it, "were fruitful".

The state secretary pointed out that the USA registered with satisfaction a support to a proposal put forth by President Reagan at the session on convening a conference of member states of the 1925 Geneva Protocol on chemical weapons. Numerous discussions in Washington and New York reached a substantial progress which was imparted to the talks in Vienna on CSCE which, it is to be hoped, will soon bring about a result.

In the assessment of Shultz, talks with a broad range of African leaders, speak of a general expectation for solving questions pertaining to Namibia's independence and the situation in Angola. Many discussions concerned Kampuchea. Process is going on here too, and it differs positively from what was a year ago. [sentence as received] Prospects have improved for ending the conflict in the Western Sahara. The USA is closely following the talks on ending the Iran-Iraq war and is satisfied with the observance of a ceasefire agreement.

Asked about Pakistan's violations of the Geneva accords on a settlement of the Afghanistan situation, Shultz preferred ducking the direct answer and repeated groundless counter accusations of the Pakistani authorities which had been convincingly refuted by the other side as having nothing to do with realities. Replying to questions on the U.S. policy in Central America, the state secretary again made crude attacks on Nicaragua and said that Washington intended to back in every way those who came out against the Sandinist government.

## China

### Maritime Official on Seaman Held by Taiwan

*PM0610131588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6*

[Readers' letter plus commentary by O. Goncharenko, chief inspector of the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet Main Cadres Administration, under the rubric "Letters...'Not for Publication'": "Such Long Captivity"; first two paragraphs are readers' letter]

[Text] The news of the 34-year captivity of three of our sailor compatriots in Taiwan came as a shock. People throughout the world regard their citizens' illegal captivity as an act of national humiliation. Much is now being done for the release of Soviet prisoners in Afghanistan. Why was nothing reported for so long about the fate of our sailors?

A. Blokh, A. Vardanyants, T. Vostroknutova, and other staffers of a geological party, Kyzyl, Tuva ASSR.

We asked O. Goncharenko, chief inspector of the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet Main Cadres Administration, who is well acquainted with the problem raised by the readers, to comment on this letter.

"Immediately after the tanker 'Tuapse' was seized by Chiang Kai-shekists in 1954, the Soviet Government resolutely raised the question of the release of the crew and the ship. The USSR Foreign Ministry, the Red Cross, and the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet took numerous measures to accelerate this. A year later the release of the majority of the captured Soviet sailors was secured.

"The rest were split up into small groups and subjected to physical and psychological influence to persuade them to abandon the idea of returning to the motherland. Some of them, who ended up in the United States, managed to make their way to our embassy and were returned to the motherland. The fate of four sailors from the 'Tuapse,' who arrived in the Soviet Union via Brazil and Uruguay in 1958, took a dramatic turn. They were sentenced to imprisonment with the formula 'for betraying the motherland.' Information about some members of the 'Tuapse' crew is contradictory, and much still has to be elucidated.

"All these years the Soviet organizations have not ceased the struggle for our sailors' return from Taiwan. And now three more have returned home. But the ship itself and Seaman V. Lopatyuk remain in Taiwan."

## Northeast Asia

### Lukyanov Meets Batmonh at Moscow Airport

*LD0610123988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1120 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow, 6 Oct (TASS)—J. Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the MPR Great People's Hural Presidium, made a stopover in Moscow today on his way to official friendly visits in the PPR and GDR.

He was greeted at the airport by A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other officials.

### Rogachev Says Gorbachev To Visit DPRK

*LD0610132988 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is going to visit the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, it was announced at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Center today.

Answering a UPI correspondent's question, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev explained that "Mikhail Gorbachev as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee had an invitation to visit the DPRK before as well. This invitation, as we understand it, still stands."

### Kim Il-song Thanks Gorbachev for Greetings

*PM0610155588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1*

[Undated greetings message from Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee and DPRK president: "To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] I express profound gratitude for the cordial congratulations and wishes sent by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on behalf of CPSU members and the entire Soviet people on the 40th anniversary of the DPRK's formation.

The assessment made by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Korean people's successes in socialist building and their support for the efforts of our republic's government in the interests of turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, bringing about the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea, and peacefully reuniting the country are a great inspiration for our people.

May I take this opportunity to express the confidence that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our two parties, countries, and peoples will continue to deepen and develop still further.

Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee and president of the DPRK

### Scientific Agreement Signed With Japan

*LD0510223588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1916 GMT 5 Oct 88*

[From "The World Today" program presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] And here is a report today from Tokyo. An agreement has been signed there between the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Foreign Economic Relations and the Japanese Society for Trade With the Socialist Countries on the development of a scientifically-based strategy for the development of economic cooperation between the USSR and Japan up to the year 2000. It is a question of the implementation of joint scientific research, the exchange of delegations of experts and the holding of regular consultations and scientific conferences.

## Southeast Asia & Pacific

### Western Media Say Burma Elections 'Impossible'

*BK0710090388 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] General Saw Maung's government had announced that it would hold general elections in the next 3 months. However, some Western observers and organizations are saying it will be impossible. While the Western press agencies are portraying the present Burmese government as a repressive regime, Burmese workers and public service personnel who are returning to work are witnessing why the soldiers used arms against the destructive elements in trying to deter them. They are discovering the extent of looting at factories, offices, and departments.

Those elements that took advantage of the unrest to pilfer the state and public property left behind them a trail of totally destroyed factories and buildings and warehouses that once stored spare parts and raw materials. As pointed out by observers in Burma normal operation of industries and transportation in Burma is the most essential requirement for stability and a normal democratic process in the country. However, some Western authorities are overlooking or pretending to overlook this point. How else would they explain their suspension of aid to Burma, which cannot survive without spare parts and raw materials from abroad? Despite all the difficulties, however, opposition forces in Burma are

striving to form their political organizations. During this week, two youth organizations have registered, bringing the number of opposition parties to five.

Opposition spokesmen are commenting on whether the general elections could be fair. However, they have not rejected competing against the National Unity Party—the former Burma Socialist Program Party. In a recent interview, U Win Maung, chairman of the League for Democracy and Peace, pointed out it would not be very easy for opposition parties to compete against the National Unity Party, which has a broad-based organizational structure.

All parties to the confrontation in Burma should be encouraged to strive to resolve their problems through peaceful means. Well-known opposition leaders like Daw Aung Suu Kyi and U Tin U are also making similar appeals.

A question could be raised at this point. What are the obstacles to implement the appeal of the leaders of the League for Democracy? Observers point out two factors. The first factor is actions of some groups that are calling for use of force in waging a struggle against the current government, and the second factor is the danger of famine and other problems following noticeable material deterioration of the people and economic standstill. These factors pose a real danger to multiparty general elections and democracy in Burma. Those crying loudest for democracy inside Burma have the potential for removing these dangers and not for exacerbating them.

### Rogachev Meets Lao Deputy Foreign Minister

*LD0710050988 Moscow TASS in English 1849 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Igor Rogachev has had here today a meeting with Deputy Head of the International Relations Department of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, Deputy Foreign Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic Thongloun Sisoulit.

They had an exchange of opinions on questions of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. The two sides noted the significance of the recent international Vladivostok meeting on problems of the Asia-Pacific region, which discussed questions of consolidation of peace, security and cooperation in that area in the spirit of the Krasnoyarsk initiatives.

### PRK Solidarity Group Leader on Moscow Visit

*BK0710035588 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Statement to station correspondent by Yos Son, chairman of the Kampuchean Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization Committee, while on a visit to the Soviet Union—date not given]

[Text] [Begin Yos Son recording] I am very happy to have the opportunity to visit the USSR. I am paying this visit in the name of the committee for solidarity with the Afro-Asian peoples. This is a significant visit which will give our delegation some good experience. During this visit we met and held discussions with the Soviet party and state leaders as well as those in Belorussian SSR.

During meetings and discussions with the Soviet leaders, we exchanged views on the situation in each country as well as experiences related to the national construction work. Through this visit, we have gained many experiences, particularly the experiences of the Soviet comrades in implementing the restructuring policy in their society. Moreover, the restructuring in the USSR will be beneficial to the PRK which also has an aim to build socialism. The Soviet Union has moved along the course of building socialism for a long time now, and we realize that there are good paths to follow in the socialist construction. Since the comrades have proceeded on this path before us, we who are following this path may see what the good points are and what we should avoid. Therefore, we think that this visit is significant and beneficial to our Cambodian people.

Moreover, this visit will further strengthen relations between the peoples of our two countries. It is also an encouragement to us that the Soviet Union has invited the delegation of the Cambodian solidarity sector to visit in order to further strengthen our solidarity.

The restructuring in Soviet society is a new process being carried out to modernize the entire Soviet society and rapidly develop socialism. Our impression is that this restructuring is proceeding splendidly in the Soviet Union. For example, in a republic I visited, there has been notable development. The party and state leaders there had stressed the achievements made in their republic during the past years since the beginning of this restructuring policy. That is, all sectors, such as economic and social sectors, have made progress; the livelihood of the workers has improved; and the rate of production and the quality of the products have increased. Thanks to this, Soviet society has advanced rapidly. Therefore, this is a significant policy which has brought progress to the Soviet people and has had a good influence on the countries that are advancing toward building socialism, including Cambodia which is achieving good development in all fields. [end recording]

[Announcer] The Cambodian delegation's visit coincided with the visit to the Soviet Union by leaders of the three Indochinese countries, that is Comrade Chea Sim, chairman of the PRK National Assembly; Comrade Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV Council of State; and Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Lao Council of Ministers. Regarding this, Comrade Yos Son said:

[Begin recording] The visit by the PRK, SRV, and LPDR leaders was significant in the current circumstances because in addition to their bilateral relations, the three leaders also discussed the Cambodian problem. In my

opinion, this discussion is very important because they could exchange views on ways toward rapidly achieving a political solution to the Cambodian problem.

As shown in history, the three Indochinese countries—Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos—have had historic and traditional relations immemorially. With the assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, including the Soviet Union which is our firm support, these three countries have helped each other in all weal and woes. Therefore, this discussion on the Cambodian problem is a significant contribution to the joint efforts toward resolving the political problem in Cambodia through peaceful means in contribution to rapidly restoring peace in Cambodia and to turning Southeast Asia as well as the Asia-Pacific region into a zone of peace, stability, and good neighborly cooperation in the efforts to reduce international tension and achieve lasting peace. [end recording]

## Economist Urges 'Boost' in ASEAN Ties

*PM0610152588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5*

[Doctor of Economic Sciences G. Chufrin article: "What Is Impeding Dialogue. On the Question of Organizing USSR-ASEAN Cooperation"]

[Text] Our press has mentioned ASEAN, of which Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, the Philippines, and Brunei are members, quite frequently recently. The increase in interest in ASEAN is mainly linked with the political role that this organization plays in the region, particularly in reaching a settlement in Cambodia. The economic aspects of the association's activity generally remain in the background or are not mentioned at all. Yet it was economic aims that were proclaimed to be the main aims when ASEAN was created in 1967.

Most Soviet readers associate the ASEAN countries' economy mostly with the cultivation of tropical crops, rubber, tea, or coffee, and also with the extraction of nonferrous metals and oil. These ideas were quite an accurate reflection of reality 10-15 years ago. Now, however, the situation has changed appreciably. While remaining the largest world producers and exporters of rubber, palm oil, spices, tin, and tropical timber, the ASEAN countries have made striking progress in their industrial development in the last 20 years. Whereas in the mid-1960's industrial production accounted for an average of 15-18 percent of ASEAN countries' GNP, it now accounts for 30-35 percent, and in terms of the size of their industrial exports ASEAN countries outstripped not only other "Third World" states but also the Soviet Union by the middle of this decade.

Together with goods in the textile, footwear, chemical, and timber sectors, they are rapidly expanding their production of goods in the electronic and electrotechnical industries, machine building, and instrument making. The ASEAN countries are—after the United States and Japan—the largest exporters of computers, electronic components, and domestic electronic appliances. Singapore is one of the world's largest producers and exporters of oil drilling rigs.

One would think that such rapid growth in the economic potential of these countries and the important qualitative changes in their production and export structure should interest Soviet economic organizations and departments in developing and deepening trade and economic ties with the association's members. For they are not only the source of a number of types of raw material that are in short supply in our economy, but they can now offer a broad range of high-technology finished articles that are quite able to compete in terms of both quality and price with other countries' goods.

However, last year ASEAN countries' share of Soviet foreign trade turnover was only 0.3 percent; moreover, since the early eighties the volume of the USSR's trade with these states has decreased virtually every year. The commodity structure of our trade with these states, both exports and also imports, is confined to 14-15 goods, mainly raw materials. Moreover, we buy considerably more than we sell, and as a result our balance of trade deficit in 1981-1987 amounted to approximately R3 billion in freely convertible currency.

For many years it was customary to think that this depressing situation was brought about by substantial political and ideological differences between the Soviet Union and the ASEAN members. But recently these relations have changed. Contacts between Moscow and the ASEAN countries have begun to expand quickly. The prime ministers of Malaysia and Thailand and the leaders of a whole series of ministries and departments from the ASEAN countries have visited the USSR. At the beginning of last year the USSR foreign minister also visited Indonesia after a long gap. A series of important documents relating to the development of cooperation was signed in the course of these visits.

Nevertheless, there has not been any marked improvement in trade and economic contacts. Why?

I think that there are two basic obstacles impeding the broadening of our economic ties with ASEAN countries: First, the very high level of competition from U.S. and Japanese companies, to which our goods, particularly machines and equipment, clearly cannot stand up. It is no coincidence that raw materials account for three-fourths of the value of our exports to ASEAN countries and the proportion of machines and equipment is more than 5 times lower than the corresponding indicator for the group of developing countries as a whole.

Second, one form in effect prevails in our ties with ASEAN—trade proper—whereas such forms of activity (widely used by our competitors, incidentally) as the creation of mixed enterprises in the production and services spheres are used extremely rarely or not at all.

The transition to new methods of economic activity being effected in our country is creating favorable conditions for overcoming such obstacles. However, this will hardly happen if our departments, associations, and individual enterprises with the right to trade on foreign markets fail to show initiative. Initiative such as that which resulted, for instance, in the recent signing of an agreement on the creation of a Soviet-Malaysian eye clinic.

The development of trade and economic cooperation with ASEAN countries is possible and advisable not only on the territory of these countries themselves but also in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, this possibility is not exploited as yet, although involving ASEAN countries' companies in the creation of mixed enterprises in the Soviet Far East could facilitate the plans for its socioeconomic development.

There is practically no scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and ASEAN countries, although there are extremely good opportunities for this. In particular, joint research in the sphere of natural sciences, including nuclear physics, biology, oceanology, vulcanology, climatology, and space research, looks most promising.

Finally, one last point. At present we are building our relations with ASEAN countries exclusively on a bilateral basis, whereas our main competitors widely practice "dialogues" on a multilateral basis with ASEAN as a subregional organization. This enables them to elaborate and correct their strategy for economic ties with the association. By the beginning of October seven, eight, nine, and eleven such "dialogues" had already taken place between ASEAN and the EEC, the United States, Japan, and Australia respectively.

Establishing this kind of "dialogue" between the USSR and ASEAN would, in my opinion, enable us to boost our relations with the association to a higher level.

More than 30 years ago the Treaty of Rome on the establishment of the EEC entered into force. For a very long time we mainly engaged in criticizing EEC activity in all manner of ways, but we ultimately established official relations with this organization this year, thus acknowledging clear economic realities and acting in the interests of mutual advantage.

Some 21 years have already elapsed since the creation of ASEAN...

### Soviet, SRV Youth Unions To Meet in Baku

*BK2909145188 Hanoi International Service in English 1000 GMT 29 Sep 88*

[Text] The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union Central Committee held in Hanoi on Wednesday [28 September] a press conference on the sixth traditional friendship meeting between the Soviet and Vietnamese youths. The meeting is to be held in Baku, Azerbaijan, from October 6-10. The Central Committee affirmed that it will help make the meeting a success. The head of the Vietnamese delegation is Ha Quang Du, first secretary of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union Central Committee, and the Soviet delegation is led by Victor Mironenko, first secretary of the Lenin Communist Youth Union Central Committee.

During this meeting, the two youth unions will discuss a concrete program of action to promote friendship and cooperation within the youths of Vietnam and the Soviet Union. The Lenin Communist Youth Union Central Committee has decided to invest 10 million rubles in building a tourist center for the youth at Vung Tau.

## Near East & South Asia

### Algiers Protesters Incite 'Real Pogrom'

*PM0710110188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 88 Second Edition p 7*

[Own correspondent S. Filatov dispatch: "Riots in Algiers"]

[Text] Algiers, 6 Oct—This morning all the talk in the city was about what happened here yesterday: In several areas of the capital groups of young people armed with cudgels, iron bars, and stones organized a real pogrom. The streets are strewn with shattered store windows, wrecked automobiles, buses without glass, a burned-out truck embedded in a house, telephone booths smashed to smithereens...

APS reports that it was mainly college students who took part in the demonstrations and they were incited to acts of vandalism by "irresponsible elements," who wanted to play on the temporary difficulties that the country is experiencing. APS stresses that forces hostile to the state and public authorities are behind the demonstrations—forces that want to cause anarchy and compromise the actions of the party and government, which are doing everything in their power to implement socioeconomic reforms aimed at overcoming the current unfavorable situation. The agency recalls that Algeria is up against an international economic market situation that is unfavorable for the country, a situation brought about by the world economic crisis, the fall in income from their main export—oil—the decline in the rate of the dollar, and the drought.

An emergency session of the National Liberation Front Party Central Committee Politburo was held yesterday, at which the situation in the capital was examined. A radio announcement said that the Politburo confirmed that the action program elaborated by the government in the face of the complex socioeconomic situation is the only way to boost the level of production and employment, protect working people's purchasing power, and combat inflation, and is creating favorable opportunities for an improvement in the social living conditions of broad strata of the population.

The Politburo resolutely condemned the acts of vandalism and aggression to which innocent citizens have fallen victim. It announced that the security organs and the juridical authorities should take steps to maintain order and show no indulgence. The Politburo called for the gains of the revolution to be defended and vigilance to be shown with regard to any machinations that are at variance with the real interest of the Algerian people and their fundamental choice.

At approximately midday the capital's radio announced the decision of the republic's president to announce a state of emergency under Article 119 of the country's Constitution. All the services—civil, administrative, and security—are immediately transferred to the command of the Army leadership.

## Pakistani Violations of Geneva Accords Continue

### 'Negative Impact' on Pakistan

*LD0610175588 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Kabul October 6 TASS—Islamabad's obstructionist policy in fulfiling Geneva accords has a negative impact on the situation in Pakistan itself. Tensions are rising high in the border regions of the country, where most Afghan refugee camps, training centres and opposition headquarters are located.

The wave of terror and looting in the outside camps is setting Afghans living in Pakistan and local population against the armed opposition. For example, refugees from Alizai camp located on the outskirts of Kohata, prevented Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA), from arriving and delivering a speech. Only after interference of the Pakistani police, one of the opposition ringleaders escaped unharmed. Many Pashtun tribes in Pakistan's northwestern border province are pressing for an end to military aid to rebels.

Mass ethnic disturbances, which flared up in the Pakistanian cities of Hyderabad and Karachi, and increasing interference by Pakistani police and Army troops to cut short clashes between Afghan refugees and rebels force Islamabad to toughen security measures to prevent the breakdown of general elections set for November.

At the same time Pakistan's officials continue supporting Afghan opposition groups by encouraging them in every possible way to take actions against the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan. In particular, a decision has been taken recently to put under protection of Pakistani irregular troops and army units arms and ammunition depots which opposition has on Pakistani territory and to redeploy rebel troops in Afghanistan to step up subversive and terroristic activity. Pakistan does not restrict its involvement in the undeclared war by this. For example, 30 Pakistani officers arrived in the area of Shevali, (Jaji- Meydan District, Paktia Province) to coordinate rebel combat operations in capturing this province and Khowst District before the start of the elections in Pakistan.

The extremist armed groups are conducting combat operations in a number of Afghan regions with direct assistance of foreign, including Pakistani, advisers. For example, two American advisers and 10 Pakistani servicemen are with seven opposition groups totaling 350 men, which operate in the suburbs of town Asadabad, Konarha Province.

The so-called elections of the representatives of the detachments of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan (ISA) to an illegitimate loya jirgah, which allegedly must take place in one of the Afghan provinces, are currently held in Panjsher. Some 20 journalists from the USA, China, Pakistan and some Arab countries arrived to cover the "elections", which must prove that ISA rebels have liberated zones and "democratic principles in the party."

Numerous facts of violation by the Islamabad authorities of Geneva accords forces the Afghan Government to inform the U.N. mission about them almost every day. On Wednesday U.N. observers received the 92nd note from the Afghan Foreign Ministry.

### Air Violation Protested

*LD0610180488 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Kabul October 6 TASS—The Foreign Ministry of Afghanistan has made a strong protest to Pakistan following a violation of its air space October 3 by a Pakistani Air Force plane which made a one-minute reconnaissance flight over Asmar District in Konarha Province.

Afghanistan's Foreign Ministry called on the Pakistani authorities to stop acts of aggression and honour their commitments under the Geneva accords.

### Intensive Rocket Fire Hits Kabul

*PM0610132088 Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 Oct 88 p 3*

[TASS report: "News From Afghanistan"]

[Text] Kabul, 5 Oct—Four of Kabul's districts came under intensive rocket fire this morning—26 rocket projectiles exploded in the city's streets and squares. There were 13 citizens killed and 34 were seriously wounded. A further 16 shells were fired at Kabul's suburbs, but so far there is no information on the number of casualties or the extent of damage.

The situation has deteriorated also in Afghanistan's border district of Khowst. According to BAKHTAR reports, insurgents supported by Pakistani Armed Forces and groups of foreign "advisers" have stepped up their

pressure on the district center and its suburbs in the last few days. Specifically, Khowst is coming under mass rocket and artillery fire virtually every day.

Over the last few days subunits of the republic armed forces hit antigovernment groups in Paktia, Balkh, and Samangan Provinces. It is reported that 23 insurgents were killed and a large quantity of weapons, including rocket launchers, has been destroyed or captured.

Detachments from the main opposition organizations in Afghanistan are increasingly actively involved in internecine fighting to gain control over different territories. The areas around Kuhestan and Nejrab (Kapisa Province) are the arena for fierce clashes between armed groupings from the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" [IPA] and the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" [ISA]. About 10 insurgents from each organization have been killed. Four members of an ISA group have been captured, and this has exacerbated further still relations between rival detachments. Internecine battles are being fought in Ghazni Province between gang formations from the IPA, the "Islamic Revolutionary Movement of Afghanistan," and the "Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan." Over the last 2 days, these groupings have lost more than 20 of their members. Innocent civilians also suffer from the opposition's infighting. For example, bandits killed the elder of Lagwat [name as published] Village (Deh Yak District), who attempted to persuade the extremists "to cease the slaughter caused by personal ambitions and selfishness."

Somewhat different reasons motivated detachments from moderate opposition organizations to launch combat operations against IPA gangs in Arghandab County (Qandahar Province). According to BAKHTAR reports, their leaders accused Gulbuddin Hikmatyar's "party" of deliberately fanning an intra-Afghan war.

### Kabul Casualties Reported

*LD0610130888 Moscow TASS in English 1217 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Kabul October 6 TASS—Residential neighbourhoods of Kabul came under intensive missile bombardment Wednesday. The fire killed 13 residents and injured 34, partially destroying seven apartment houses and a kindgergarten.

Extremists fired 166 rockets at Kabul over the last month, killing about 300 people, BAKHTAR news agency reports. About 200 rockets fell on Gardeyz, Paktia Province, on October 4-5, killing six people and injuring seven. Twenty-two houses, 37 vendors, and eight state institutions were destroyed.

In the first days of October armed forces units crushed an armed formation of the die-hard opposition in the town of Pol-e 'Alam, Lougar Province. Twenty people were killed, 14 injured and four rocket launchers seized. Another armed group was routed in Qandahar Province. Twenty-one militants were killed and nine injured. Five weapons depots were liquidated. In Paghman District, Kabul Province, Afghan Army units crushed a formation of the irreconcilibles, killing 52 extremists and wounding 24. Several recoiless guns, mortars and missiles launchers were seized, and weapons depots liquidated. In all, about 200 rebels were killed or wounded on September 15-27.

Five hundred and eighty families numbering 3.5 thousand people have returned to the homeland from Pakistan over the last two weeks. The repatriates were given the necessary assistance and supplied with vehicles to take them to Kabul, Parvan, Lougar, Konduz and Baghlan Provinces.

### Fadeyev on Change in 'Alliance of Seven'

*LD0610120288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 5 Oct 88*

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Boris Andrianov]

[Text] Foreign press agencies have reported that a regular change has taken place in the leadership of the Afghan counterrevolution. The term of office of Sayyed Ahmad Gaylani, leader of the so-called Alliance of Seven, has ended and now it is the turn of Burhanuddin Rabbani, leader of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan group, to take over the reins of power. As already had been reported, the post of leader of the Alliance of Seven is occupied for a period for 3 months in turn by each of the seven leaders of the parties belonging to this alliance.

In light of events currently taking place in and around Afghanistan, chief among which are the unending infringements of the Geneva accords by neighboring Pakistan, I think it is worth looking at these events through the prism of these reports and trying to imagine what can be expected from the new leader in Peshawar, above all by the Afghan people themselves. I will ask my colleague, commentator Vladimir Fadeyev, to express his thoughts on this matter:

[Fadeyev] Most of all, I would like to remind our listeners that the so-called transitional government of Afghanistan was formed in Peshawar, when the late Ziaul Haq was in power and with his direct consent, mainly from the leaders or members of the parties making up the Alliance of Seven. The Afghan people stated very clearly their attitude to this wholly inappropriate and provocative step, having long since grown tired of the bloody war and understanding perfectly that a government acting beyond the frontiers of the country and, so to say, in the name of the whole people, in actual fact had never incorporated into its policy the genuine interest and aspirations of the people.

So as not to get too far away from actual examples, I will remind you, comrades, that no more than 6 months ago in exactly the same way as now, Gulbuddin Hikmatyar,

the leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, became the first of the regularly changed leaders. In what direction did he direct his efforts and how did Gulbuddin use the temporary leadership mandate? Above all for intensifying the terrorist activities of his armed forces against the peaceful Afghan population. Those under his wardship distinguish themselves, it must be said, by their particular cruelty when carrying out barbarous bandit actions.

Since Washington for a long time officially has been sympathetic to Gulbuddin, who pretends to the leading role among other leaders of the counterrevolutionary forces, it was indeed to him that the lion's share of the newest U.S. weaponry, including Stinger missiles and long-range rocket-propelled grenades, was supplied—even after the signing of the Geneva accords. And Gulbuddin wasted no time in using his mandate in the fractional struggle with his rivals. The result is well-known: an intensification of the missile bombardment of Kabul and other cities, with increasing numbers of victims in these actons that, from a tactical viewpoint, are generally senseless, since it is the peaceful population that is most affected by such bombardments.

Now there is a new leader, Burhanuddin Rabbani, a professor of theology who, like Gulbuddin, calls for disregarding any coalition government in which the People's Democratic Party of Afghanitan might participate and for continuing the war with the ultimiate aim, in his opinion, of the formation in Afghanistan of a purely Islamic state, in other words, the destruction of everything proclaimed and achieved by the April revolution. As is well-known, this was primarily the formation in the country of a series of democratic institutions and of a system of relations among all members of society on the basis of equal rights. It is completely clear that the harsh, unyielding position of this Islamic theoretician will bring neither peace nor tranquillity to this Afghan land that has suffered much.

I can make reference only to my personal observations. The thing is that Rabani's party has two very major, so to speak, leading armed formations on Afghan territory. One of them with (Ismail Han) as its chief, is active in Herat Province. The second, with (Ahmad Shahma Sud) at its head, is active in Paruan Province, in the well-known Panshir Ravine. Naturally, it has been my lot to be in Herat Province, and several times, in different years, I was in Panshir. Every time our soldiers and Afghan formations had driven out the rebels, we saw the terrible picture of how the retreating extremists had dealt with those who did not or could not retreat with them. We also saw the prisoners in the awful prisons of (Ahmad Shahma Sud). It is well-known, it is true, that he himself was against the formation of the aforementioned transitional government in Peshawar, but this protest was dictated purely by ambitious motives.

Therefore it is not worth expecting from this side, more exactly from all of Rabbani's military groupings, an understanding of the essence of the national reconciliation policy proclaimed by the legal Government of Afghanistan.

Here, in the regular account received from Kabul, a missile bombardment of four regions of the city is reported. According to preliminary information, 13 citizens died and 34 were seriously injured. Two days ago, in the city of Gardeyz in Paktia Province, about 200 missiles landed; they were fired from Pakistan. Again, the only victims were among the peaceful population. In the frontier district of Khowst, Pakistani Armed Forces and groups of foreign advisers support the rebels completely openly.

In a word, it is not appropriate yet to speak of any observance of the Geneva accords by Pakistan. Our country's position on this question was expounded very clearly last week in the speech Comrade Shevardnadze gave at the UN General Assembly session. It also is perfectly clear that the question of settling the Afghan situation now depends on Washington's position. This reshuffle of the leaders of the pack of the Peshawar Seven is just a superfluous fuss in the camp of the intransigent opposition, a fuss far from peacemaking efforts and aims.

### Najibullah Congratulates Gorbachev on Election

*LD0210190488 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 2 Oct 88*

[Text] President Najibullah has sent a message of congratulations to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on his election to the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Here is the text of the message:

To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, the Kremlin, Moscow:

Dear Comrade Mikhail Sergeyvich,

We, the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan, the people of Afghanistan, all the patriotic forces of the country, and myself learned of your election to the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet with a deep feeling of satisfaction.

You have obtained the great trust of your heroic people as a result of your indefatigable work and efforts to implement the revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society and to develop openess and democracy.

People all over the world link you with the current great positive development in the international arena and the real prospects for the establishment of peace, a world free from nuclear arms and tension. These are the basic tenets of the new political thinking.

You are famed in Afghanistan as a great and true friend of the Afghan people, the real supporter of the deepening and expanding of mutual beneficial cooperation between the people of the two countries.

We evaluate highly your fruitful efforts aimed at a peaceful solution to Afghanistan's problems, as well as your outstanding role in the successful conclusion of the Geneva negotiations on Afghanistan. Today, the patriots of Afghanistan have taken serious steps toward national reconciliation relying on the traditional friendship, all-round support, and selfless assistance of the Soviet Union. They give a crushing response to the [word indistinct] effors of the opposition to prevent the development of the peaceful trend in our country.

The peaceful initiative of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan made possible the beginning of the withdrawal of the limited Soviet military contingents from Afghanistan. We see in this a bright manifestation of the new political thinking from which the national reconciliation policy also draws its strength.

Dear Mikhail Sergeyvich, please accept our wholehearted and sincere congratulation on your election to the lofty and responsible position of chairman of the Soviet state, and our good wishes for your health and further successes in the difficult and noble service for your people and peace in the world.

Long live indefatiable Afghan-Soviet frendship!

[Signed] Najibullah, president of Afghanistan and general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee

**Daily Reports Syrian Defense Minister Interview**
*PM0610160588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Oct 88 First Edition p 3*

[TASS report on interview with Syrian Defense Minister General M. Talas by unidentified TASS correspondent on 5 October in Damascus]

[Text] Damascus, 5 Oct—The October 1973 Arab-Israeli war had a major effect on the subsequent development of the political and socioeconomic situation in the region, Syrian Defense Minister General M. Talas said in an interview given to a TASS correspondent on the 15th anniversary of the start of that war, which falls on 6 October. The Israeli Army was dealt tangible blows in October 1973. That period was marked by a supreme manifestation of Arab unity and solidarity, an effective instrument for containing the Zionist aggressors.

All the wars which have broken out in the Near East, the minister went on, have been caused by the Israeli colonialists' aggression. Syria, on the other hand, has always acted along the avenue of a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Syria's policy is aimed at the achievement of a fair and lasting peace in the region, the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories, and the implementation of the Palestinian Arab people's legitimate rights including their right to self-determination and creation of their own independent state. This, M. Talas emphasized, is what neither Israel nor the United States wants.

The recent launch of an Israeli satellite is a dangerous step affecting the balance of power in the region and confirming Israel's militarist aspirations. In the Arabs' opinion, this fact marks the beginning of the stage of a nuclear arms race in the Near East region. There is incontrovertible proof that the Israeli leadership has been trying for a long time to get its hands on the latest means to spy on the Arab states and their armed forces. The United States is helping Israel in this. Intelligence information received from the United States is used by Israel to conduct aggressive actions against Syria.

The launch of the Israeli satellite is a new destabilizing factor which further whips up tension and is a real danger to the cause of peace in the region and all over the world.

The Soviet Union and all socialist countries, M. Talas said in conclusion, steadfastly wage a struggle for mankind's liberation from the danger of nuclear weapons. We perceive the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles as an important step in the cause of strengthening peace, a turning point in the conclusion of new agreements in the disarmament sphere.

The Soviet Union, the Syrian minister went on, plays a most important role in the cause of preserving peace on the planet and trying to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. It maintains an open and clear stance on this question. But so far there has been no substantial change in the situation in the region, and this is a result of the constant support for Israel's aggressive policy by the U.S. Administration.

**Syrian Irrigation Minister on Cooperation**
*LD0310225388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 3 Oct 88*

[Text] Talks between Soviet and Syrian delegations on questions of bilateral cooperation in the sphere of irrigation and agriculture have ended in Moscow. Here is what our correspondent has to say:

[Unidentified correspondent] The Soviet delegation at the talks was headed by Comrade Davydov, USSR deputy minister of foreign economic ties, and the Arab delegation by 'Abd al-Rahman Madani, Syrian irrigation minister. The talks were concrete and businesslike. Details of an agreement on the construction of a new power complex in Syria were discussed. I will recall that the agreement itself was signed last year during the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Hafiz al-Asad, president of Syria.

After the conclusion of the talks in Moscow, I talked with the head of the Syrian delegation, 'Abd al-Rahman Madani. Here is what he said, in particular:

[Begin 'Abd al-Rahman recording in Arabic with simultaneous translation into Russian] Our ministry and myself personally, as minister of irrigation, are linked by long-standing relations with the Soviet nation. These relations are dear to us. I myself am visiting the Soviet Union for the fourth time now. We have accumulated rich experience in cooperation. In 1964 the construction of the first stage of the Euphrates dam began. That was a grandiose project and Soviet specialists also helped us with this. For more than 10 years now, the Euphrates has been producing cheap energy for our economy. But we will not stop with what has been achieved, continues Minister al-Rahman Madani. Recently a new dam was built, the (Alba As) on the Euphrates. The agreement, details of which were discussed in Moscow, was worked out at the meeting between the Soviet leader and our president. This agreement envisages the construction of yet another complex, (Tishrin), on that river. I feet great satisfaction over those positive results which were achieved at the talks in Moscow, and I am convinced that they meet the interests of both countries. [end recording]

### Presidium Exchanges Greetings With Saudi King

*PM0610141588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz of Saudi Arabia have exchanged congratulatory telegrams on Saudi Arabia's national day—the day the country was proclaimed a kingdom.

The telegram from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium expressed the hope that the two countries will broaden their collaboration in the tasks of strengthening peace and developing equal international cooperation.

In an answering telegram, King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz of Saudi Arabia gave thanks for the congratulations and wished the Soviet leadership and Soviet people good health, happiness, progress, and prosperity.

## Sub-Saharan Africa

### 'Consultations' Held With Somalia 30 Sep-4 Oct

*LD0610135488 Moscow TASS in English 1340 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—It is reported here today that Soviet-Somalian consultations were conducted in Mogadishu on September 30-October 4. The sides exchanged views on international issues, among them the situation in the Horn of Africa, the establishment of the situation of peace and goodneighbourliness in that region.

The consultations also centered on the development of bilateral relations in several areas which are of mutual interest. The USSR and the Somali Democratic Republic signed a plan of cultural cooperation for 1989-1990. The consultations were held in a friendly atmosphere, were of a businesslike and constructive nature.

### 'Some Hope' for Talks on Namibian Settlement

*PM0610154588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Oct 88 First Edition p 3*

[V. Vinogradov "Military-Political Commentary": "Maneuvering..."]

[Text] The recent 10th anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia again focused world public attention on the fate of that country, occupied by the racist RSA regime, and on Southern Africa as a whole. It is well known that this document envisaged the earliest possible granting of independence to Namibia and its acquisition of political independence. But throughout these 10 years the RSA authorities, relying on backstage and at times even open support from Western powers and using delaying tactics and all sorts of maneuvers, obstructed implementation of the UN resolution. Furthermore, Pretoria used Namibia as a bridgehead to conduct an undeclared war against the People's Republic of Angola. It was from Namibian territory that South African troops repeatedly mounted armed incursions into Angola, while the terrorist anti-Angolan grouping of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], maintained by RSA and U.S. special services, has an entire network of military camps and bases in northern Namibia which it uses for gangster-like raids on Angolan settlements.

But a ray of hope emerged this year. Matters have advanced from the deadlock situation as a result of several rounds of talks with the participation of representatives of Angola, Cuba, the RSA, and the United States (the last round has just ended in the Congolese capital of Brazzaville). True enough, final results are still to come. But if general consensus were achieved at these talks, Angola's ANGOP news agency noted in a commentary, illegally occupied Namibia would be given its freedom while Angola would finally gain the peace it has not experienced in all the years of its independence.

People not only in the African Continent but also beyond it await with great attention the outcome of the quadripartite talks on a peaceful settlement in Namibia, since a real opportunity has presented itself to douse the flames of yet another regional conflict. Hence the serious concern felt by those who are sincerely interested in a positive outcome of the talks, a concern caused by the fact that two of the parties to the talks—namely the RSA and the United States—have by no means abandoned actions aimed at further aggravating the situation in Namibia. The Pretoria authorities, for example, having proclaimed their readiness to withdraw their troops from Namibia by 1 November and to assist in implementing

Resolution 435, have now launched a campaign of most cruel terror against supporters of the South-West Africa People's Organization in Northern Namibia. And in the south of the country, the RSA Army of occupation is now conducting large-scale maneuvers by its ground and naval forces under the code name "Magersfontein."

According to an announcement by the RSA Armed Forces Command, the purpose of this show of military strength is to check their combat readiness and their ability to "respond swiftly to a changing situation." Thus sea and air landings using amphibious combat vehicles, helicopters, and airplanes are being rehearsed during the maneuvers. JORNAL DE ANGOLA correctly emphasized that these war games organized by Pretoria run blatantly counter to the efforts being made to establish peace and stability in Namibia. Furthermore, P. Botha, head of the South African regime, is obviously adding fuel to the flames by declaring that the accords reached on a cease-fire along the Angolan-Namibian border and withdrawal of RSA troops from Angola are "very fragile."

As for Washington, it is hard to have complete faith in the genuine sincerity of its positions in the light of recent news reports that next year it intends to double its aid to the UNITA grouping, aid which includes deliveries of large shipments of weapons to the terrorists, including Stinger antiaircraft missiles. Bearing in mind that this aid is valued at $15-20 million this year, even by U.S. sources, it means that next year it will reach $30-40 million. This somehow does not fit in with the fact that firm guarantees for ensuring Angola's security should be given at the talks! Could it be that Washington and Pretoria intend to continue the undeclared war against Angola after the talks have ended, hiding beneath UNITA's bandit banner?

And yet, despite covert and overt maneuvers by the opponents of a peaceful settlement in Namibia, there is some hope that a sensible approach toward these problems by all parties to the current talks will triumph.

## East Europe

### Television Shows Demonstrations in Novi Sad

*LD0610231688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The political situation in the autonomous province of Vojvodina, which is a part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia has grown more acute. The demonstrations by the inhabitants of the town of Novi Sad and those who arrived here from neighboring towns have continued for the 2d day. [video shows a huge chanting crowd cordoned off by uniformed men; posters and flags are carried]

Meetings are underway in front of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee building. A demand has been raised to dismiss those persons who have lost the trust of people from the leading posts and to implement without delay the economic and political reforms. According to a TANJUG report, an emergency meeting of the LCY Central Committee Presidium was held to discuss the situation which has arisen in the administrative center of Vojvodina. [video continues to show a huge crowd in a town square]

### LCY's Zarkovic Cited on Coming Plenum

*PM0610144388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 88 First Edition p 5*

[Own correspondents A. Moiseyev, A. Starukhin, L. Zhmyrev, and Ye. Fadeyev dispatch under the general heading "View of the Problem"]

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Oct—KOMMUNIST has devoted an article to the forthcoming LCY Central Committee Plenum, which is to be held in October.

"The main aim of the plenum," V. Zarkovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said in an interview with the weekly, "is to stop the development of unfavorable trends in the economy and the domestic political situation, to take specific measures to stabilize the situation in the country, and to raise the LCY's prestige. Communists must regain their influence over the processes taking place in society and restore the confidence of the working class and the people."

In order for the forthcoming plenum not to be a repetition of previous plenums, the interview notes, it is necessary to immediately embark on the fulfillment of the main provisions of the LCY Conference convened this May to work out a program for getting the country out of its social and economic crisis.

In conclusion, the interview in KOMMUNIST talks about the need to launch preparations for the 14th party congress, which could even be held ahead of schedule. If the country is encountering complex problems which must be urgently resolved—as is the case today—the party and all Communists must react to this in good time.

### Ceausescu Returns to Bucharest From Moscow

*LD0610124188 Moscow TASS in English 1138 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Bucharest October 6 TASS—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today returned in Bucharest from the Soviet Union where he was staying on the official friendly visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

At Bucharest's Otopeni airport he was met by members and alternate members of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, secretaries of the party Central Committee, members of the Romanian Government and other officials.

### Greets Gorbachev From Aircraft

*PM0710094388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "From on Board Aircraft"]

[Text] N. Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP and president of Romania, has sent a telegram from on board his aircraft to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The telegram states:

"On leaving the territory of the Soviet Union, I want once more on my own behalf and on behalf of my wife to convey to you the warmest thanks for the hospitable reception given to us during our visit to your country.

"I am sure that the visit and the talks which we had and the agreements which were reached will lend new impetus to traditional Romanian-Soviet relations and will promote the even greater consolidation of the friendship and cooperation between Romania and the USSR and the RCP and the CPSU in the interests and for the benefit of our peoples and the cause of socialism, cooperation, and peace throughout the world.

"It is particularly pleasant for me to take this opportunity to convey to you together with our greetings cordial wishes for health and happiness and to the friendly Soviet people wishes for new achievements in the socio-economic development of their motherland and the steady improvement of their material and spiritual standard, in the building of socialism and communism, and in the struggle for disarmament, cooperation, and peace."

### Rakowski Interviewed on Situation in Poland

*WA18120103 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 36, 11-18 Sep 88 p 5*

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, by Valery Masterov in Warsaw; date not given]

[Text] MN: The socio-political situation in Poland has again captured the attention of the whole world. The strike that started on August 15 at the Manifest Lipcowy (July Manifesto) mine spread to miners in the Katowice district, dockers in Szczecin, in Gdansk.... The Western press is searching for analogies to the events that took place eight years ago. Are there any grounds for this?

M.R.: What the Western press is writing about these events is a kind of political falsification. Eight year ago the situation in our country was quite different. In 1980 there was a substantiated protest by the working class, on a mass scale. The then leadership underestimated the social and political processes, didn't see any reasons for the workers' protest. The Poland of 1988, if we're talking about the democratic structure, about the depth of the democratization process, about freedom of the press, freedom of speech, about the economic programme, is quite a different country. It's no accident that our society gives no substantial backing to the current strikes. At the same time, let's be objective, there is no mass support for the government's economic policy. People say that living standards, especially in recent months, have been declining, that prices are rising too quickly, that inflation is around the corner.... Despite all this, I categorically deny any comparison with 1980 and 1981.

MN: In one interview you said that social conditions have been created in your country, whereby, if you disagree with something, you can and should speak out about it. In other words, he who keeps silent only has himself to blame for any unfortunate consequences. Didn't this create a favourable atmosphere for the activization of illegal structures?

M.R.: To my mind, illegal structures have something of their own genealogy which began in 1981, the moment martial law was imposed. It could have been supposed in advance—and at the time I was completely sure of it—that illegal structures would appear which would wait for a suitable moment.

Now a different socio-political situation making strikes possible has arisen for a number of reasons—like Poland's financial debt to the West and some negative phenomena in our economic development. But there is also, so to speak, a subjective factor. We have embarked upon a stage of major and irreversible changes of a truly revolutionary nature. Neither Communists nor other social strata were prepared for these changes. Given such transitional conditions, the people who are now against the system, are trying not to miss the moment. They aren't at all interested in socialist renovation and dream only about replacing socialism, in one way or another, with any other system, even capitalist—although it would be really stupid to label the miners on strike "enemies of socialism."

MN: Polish papers, daily devoting several pages to the strikes, try not to mention Solidarity. Why? Do the underground structures of Solidarity represent a realistic political force? If not, then why is it that a small number of initiators succeeded in paralyzing entire work collectives?

M.R.: I repeat: there did exist economic grounds for strikes and, therefore, their organizers won the sympathy of part of the collectives. As for Solidarity, it can in no way claim to represent the majority of the Polish working class. I think the point is as follows: everyone who is

dissatisfied with the authorities today is looking for his own slogan, some orientation which, he believes, will bring him a better future. This served as a breeding ground for what we call the Solidarity myth. This myth is popular among those who are vexed by the difficult material situation. This is one aspect of the matter. But there is another. Some of the workers who participated in the recent strikes were 13-14 years old in the early 1980s. For them Solidarity is a myth, the hope that if such an organization really existed, it would no doubt protect their interests. But there is also, what we call, the people's memory. People remember the years when Poland found itself on the brink of an abyss.... For Poland, it is of vital necessity that public order be maintained at enterprises.

What are the genuine ambitions of the Solidarity leaders? To be in charge of a movement that can become a political one, that will demand concessions from the authorities that go beyond the bounds of constitutional principles. Please don't be mistaken on that score.

MN: A report on one of the recent sessions of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party says that "It is the duty of the party to conduct a permanent dialogue with work collectives, to heed their opinion, to eliminate the sources of discontent and misunderstanding." How can you comment on this provision?

M.R.: This is the problem of problems. It is no secret that many party members are dissatisfied with the economic situation in Poland. In practice this means that, say, dynamism and the activity of many party organizations leaves much to be desired. But these are the same people who, just like non-party people, are struggling with daily troubles. In such a situation it is impossible to make excessive claims on the party. I'm convinced that the main claim must be addressed to us, to those who holding leadership posts, determine the direction of economic policy. In the final analysis, the leadership will be responsible, not those operating machine tools. Though he, too, must bear part of the responsibility for what he produces and how—whether they're quality commodities or goods only fit for the dust-heap.

Of course, today we can ask the question: Didn't the current events take the party organizations in those mines on strike unawares? I think that they did. In fact we didn't envisage these events on such a wide scale. True, there are several thousand enterprises in our country, and only a few of them are on strike. But this is sufficient enough to state that the situation is serious. Having experienced such trials the party organizations, and first and foremost the PUWP leadership must draw some conclusions. This was actually the main task facing the recent plenary meeting of our party's Central Committee. The plenary meeting reaffirmed that we shall not turn back from reform and democratization. We maintain that society responds differently to these strikes. The majority find them unjustified. But there are those who say that it's necessary to use force against strikers. That playing at democracy will do no good. I personally believe that this is the wrong approach. The sacred principle and the only one for us is unity, confident movement towards the democratization of our system and economic reform. We must search for and find a common language with the strikers. After all these are workers—the salt of the earth. Do we always do this? No, we don't.

MN: For many years you were editor-in-chief of the influential weekly POLITYKA, an attentive observer of the activity of the authorities and often a critical one. How do you now assess from the inside, so to speak, the activity of the leadership?

M.R.: I think that the leaders of the party and the government are in a very difficult situation. A person who fulfils certain leadership functions constantly faces the need of making a choice. And this might be the greatest psychological load because there is no choice that will satisfy everyone. Just as there is no choice that will make instant changes, or at least as far as improving the standards of living goes. Everyone is waiting for this. But I know that the possibilities are limited. A journalist, despite everything said about his party membership, is a much freer person even in difficult times, even during stagnation, then a politician is.

MN: In conclusion, I'd like to ask you to say a few words about your work on the book about perestroika in the Soviet Union.

M.R.: Unfortunately, work is a little behind schedule since the present events prevent my finishing it. A section on very difficult ethnic problems has yet to be written. Thanks to work on this book, I now know and understand the Soviet Union and its problems much better. I write, in particular, that I was very pleased to accompany Comrade Gorbachev when he visited Stare Miasto (Old City) in Warsaw.

The Soviet leader's visit to Poland began a new stage in Polish-Soviet relations. Thanks to perestroika, to everything being done by the Soviet Union, and thanks to what Comrade Gorbachev said here to Poles and about Poland, about Russia and the Soviet Union, a historical chance to have an entirely new type of relations between the peoples of our countries has appeared.

At the very beginning of the process of perestroika, in October 1985, at a pre-election meeting I said the following: "I think that what is now taking place in the Soviet Union will eliminate anti-Soviet feelings and movements in Poland. Today this is confirmed: our current strikers don't have anti-Soviet slogans. But in 1981, they did. There were people who zealously stirred up anti-Soviet sentiments and there were such people in subsequent years, as well. But not today..."

### Moscow Meeting Marks GDR Anniversary

*PM0610155788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Anniversary"]

[Text] Soviet people value highly the relations of fraternal friendship between the USSR and GDR peoples and will continue to cherish and strengthen them. This was stated 5 October at a ceremony for representatives of Moscow working people to celebrate the 39th anniversary of the formation of the GDR. It was held in the House of Unions October Hall.

T.A. Kutsenko, first deputy chairman of the Central Board of the Soviet Society for Friendship with the GDR, and other speakers noted that the creation of the GDR was of historic significance for the destiny of the German people and the cause of peace and socialism.

The formation and development of our state, GDR Ambassador to the USSR G. Koenig said, are most closely linked to friendship between the Soviet Union and the GDR. The valiant Soviet Army's victory in the Great Patriotic War brought the German people peace and liberation from barbaric Hitlerite fascism and paved the way to a bright future.

Z.K. Kamalidenov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, leaders of a number of ministries and departments, representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations, military commanders, and a German-Soviet Friendship Society delegation headed by W. Cesarz attended the ceremony.

On the same day G. Koenig arranged a reception to celebrate the important date. It was attended by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Z.K. Kamalidenov, L.A. Voronin, and other officials.

## West Europe

### Soviets Pledge To Denuclearize Kola Peninsula

*AU0610133988 Paris AFP in English 1319 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Copenhagen, Oct 6 (AFP)—The Soviet Union has promised to withdraw its short-range nuclear weapons from the Kola Peninsula if a denuclearized zone is created in northern Europe, a former Danish prime minister said Thursday.

Anker Joergensen, who led a Nordic parliamentary delegation to the United States and the Soviet Union for talks on such a zone, spoke a day after returning here.

He said the Soviets pledged to keep only long-range strategic missiles based in submarines at its base in the peninsula's largest facility in Murmansk, which is 80 miles (130 miles) from the Finnish border.

He said the promise was made by a new member of the Politburo, Anatoliy Lukyanov.

Another member of the delegation, Pelle Voigt, who is the spokesman on defense issues of the Popular Socialist Party, said the Soviets had also pledged not to use nuclear weapons to defend their key strategic bases.

"That is an enormous concession that implies the restructuration of its forces on the Kola Peninsula," he said.

Mr. Lukyanov also promised that foreign observers would be invited to witness the dismantling of the tactical nuclear weapons in the peninsula.

### New U.S.-Spanish Military Agreement Viewed

*LD0610215588 Moscow in Spanish to Spain 1900 GMT 5 Oct 88*

[Text] The Spanish public is debating extensively the new Hispano-U.S. treaty on military cooperation. More than half the Spanish population believes that the new treaty, which they are planning to sign shortly, contradicts the result of the national referendum on Spain's entry into NATO. Such was the outcome of a poll carried out by the Demoscopia public opinion study institute at the request of the newspaper EL PAIS. The arduous Hipano-U.S. talks on the bases lasted for over 2 years. Differences of opinion between the two sides were manifest even half way through the talks. The matter reached such a point that in the middle of September this year George Shultz summoned the U.S. ambassador in Madrid, Bartholomew, to Washington for consultations.

This juncture, described by observers as a deadlock and a critical point in the talks, resulted from the fact that the U.S. Administration refused to include in the preamble to the new treaty a clause which provides for a ban on the entry of nuclear weapons into Spanish territory, which in principle would meet the requirements of the national referendum. The unyielding stance adopted by Washington in the talks with Spain is understandable. In particular, it stems from the fear of setting a precedent which is unfavorable to the United States, given that in the near future they will have to hold equally difficult talks on the fate of the U.S. bases in the Philippines and Greece.

What is the Spanish view? At the beginning of September Fernandez-Ordonez said that the ban on introducing nuclear weapons into Spain does not affect the existing practice of U.S. military vessels entering Spanish ports. For this reason Spain will not ask them to declare what kinds of weapons they are carrying when the ships request permission to enter the country's ports. The present version of the treaty confirms this position,

which can be described as a kind of juridical subterfuge because, under pressure from Washington, Spain agrees not to inspect U.S. military vessels dropping anchor in Spanish bays, even when they may be carrying nuclear weapons.

In essence the Pentagon thus has the possibility of transporting these kinds of weapons uncontrolled through Spanish territory, given the fact that in keeping with existing practice every time U.S. ships enter another country's port their commanders neither deny nor confirm whether they are carrying nuclear weapons. This is nothing other short of an open door to their nuclear arsenal.

### Sweden's Carlsson Congratulated on Premiership

*PM0610133588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*6 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1*

[USSR Council of Ministers greetings message: "To His Excellency Mr Ingvar Carlsson, Swedish Prime Minister"]

[Text] Please accept our sincere congratulations and good wishes on your appointment as Swedish prime minister.

Soviet-Swedish relations in the political, trade, economic, cultural, and other spheres are currently being filled with new content and enriched with useful experience. We express the hope that our two countries' adherence to the principles of peaceful coexistence and the closeness of their positions on the fundamental problems of the day will continue to provide a good basis for further developing contacts and cooperation between the USSR and Sweden for the good of both countries and universal peace.

USSR Council of Ministers

### CPSU Group Leaves for Swiss Party Congress

*PM0610133788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*6 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS "Official Announcement"]

[Text] On 5 October a CPSU delegation headed by A.A. Baranov, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and chief editor of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, left Moscow for Zurich at the invitation of the Swiss Social Democratic Party [SPS] leadership. The delegation will be attending the SPS centenary congress.

### Death of Ambassador to Netherlands Announced

*PM0610144988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*
*5 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6*

[Obituary of Anatoliy Ivanovich Blatov]

[Excerpts] Anatoliy Ivanovich Blatov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Netherlands, died on 1 October 1988 at the age of 75 after a serious illness. [passage omitted]

The bright memory of Anatoliy Ivanovich Blatov, a loyal son of the Communist Party, will remain forever in the hearts of all who knew him.

A group of comrades.

## Latin America & Caribbean

### TASS Reports Results of Chilean Plebiscite

*LD0610194788 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT*
*6 Oct 88*

[Text] Santiago October 6 TASS—Chilean Deputy Interior Minister Alberto Cardemil announced the final results of voting at the national referendum held last Wednesday. According to these data, out of 7,436,000 Chileans who took part in voting, 54 per cent of voters were against Pinochet's further stay in office, or nearly four million people.

Despite a massive propaganda campaign launched by the junta on the eve of the referendum, only 43 per cent of voters approved the dictator's candidacy for the presidency.

### Notes Resignation of Cabinet

*LD0610193688 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT*
*6 Oct 88*

[Text] Madrid October 6 TASS—The Chilean Cabinet of Ministers resigned en masse, following voters' rejection of Pinochet in a national referendum Wednesday.

The resignations were tendered by the whole of the Cabinet, including 19 ministers the dictator appointed last July, the EFE news agency reported quoting the Chilean "Radio Cooperativa" station.

### Cites International Reaction

*LD0610194488 Moscow TASS in English 1918 GMT*
*6 Oct 88*

["Comments on Pinochet's Defeat in a Plebiscite"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—TASS correspondent's report:

Pinochet's defeat in a plebiscite in Chile has been widely commented by political leaders of many countries, who note that the Chilean people's decision has vividly evinced its striving for democratisation of society.

Talking to journalists, Liber Seregni, president of the Broad Front—the coalition of the left forces of Uruguay—described this event as a major success of the cause of democracy not only in Chile but also in the whole of Latin America. "We convey our congratulations to all Chilean comrades. They demonstrated once again that the people fighting for freedom is invinsible", Rodney Arismendi, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, underlined in a Radio Uruguay interview.

Having decided on a plebiscite the dictatorship fell into its own trap, since the people of Chile will never forget the crimes committed over the period of 15 years after the military coup, said Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

Foreign Minister of the FRG Hans-Dietrich Genscher described the results of the plebiscite held in Chile as a victory of democracy. The West German Government expects the military junta to comply with all the necessary conditions for a transition to democracy, which primarily implies free general elections and convocation of parliament.

The military regime should not raise obstacles to the process of democratisation in Chile, the foreign minister underlined.

The results of the plebiscite in Chile have been welcomed by Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany Hans-Jochen Vogel. The democratic opposition now bears a great responsibility, he said. In Chile's interests, the opposition should be strengthening unity in the struggle against the dictatorship and should present to the people a convincing programme of a democratic future of the country, he said.

The results of the plebiscite in Chile have been welcomed by Vice Chancellor, Foreign Minister of Austria Alois Mock. He expressed confidence that the historical event would prove to be a major step towards establishing in the country democracy sought by the Chilean people.

Sweden's Foreign Minister Sten Andersson distributed a statement noting that the success of the opposition forces demonstrated the strength of unity, which is the earnest of success for the future. The Swedish Government expects the Chilean authorities to treat with respect the plebiscite returns and schedule general and free elections, the document underlines.

France welcomes the results of the plebicite in Chile, says a statement of the Foreign Ministry of France. The French Government notes that prospects of returning to institutions of elective power, based on free expression of the will of the people and historic traditions, are now opening up for Chile, the Foreign Ministry of France underlines in its statement.

### Petrovskiy Meets Panama's Ritter in New York

*LD0710101788 Moscow TASS in English 0854 GMT 7 Oct 88*

[Text] New York October 7 TASS—A meeting was held on October 6 between Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, and Jorge Eduardo Ritter, foreign minister of Panama. They discussed questions related to the work of the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session.

Ritter commended the Soviet Union's decision to accede to the protocol to the Treaty on Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal of September 7, 1977, which will help strengthen the neutral status of this major international waterway.

### Panama Praises Canal Neutrality Protocol

*PA0610013188 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 5 Oct 88*

[Text] Panama believes the Panama Canal Neutrality Treaty Protocol signed by the USSR is a gesture of solidarity with its people. This was stated by Panamanian Deputy Foreign Minister Jose Maria Cabrera, who noted that the USSR's endorsement of this document is very important for Panama in its struggle to gain sovereignty of the canal that crosses its territory and is U.S.-controlled.

### CPSU Delegation Leaves for Peru Celebrations

*PM0610131788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS "Official Announcement"]

[Text] On 4 October a CPSU delegation headed by N.S. Igrunov, second secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, left Moscow for Lima at the invitation of the Peruvian Communist Party [PCP] Central Committee to attend the celebrations in connection with the 60th anniversary of the PCP.

### PRAVDA Notes Change of Regime in Haiti

*PM0610160188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 88 First Edition p 5*

[Own correspondent A. Moiseyev report: "Haiti: Time of Change"]

[Text] Havana, 5 Oct—Events in the Caribbean island Republic of Haiti continue to develop rapidly and never cease to amaze observers, who do not have time to comment on them.

Just a few days ago Colonel Jean-Claude Paul, commander of the most efficient and powerful battalion in the Haitian Army, was firmly in place and it seemed impossible to remove him. Even the public accusations that the colonel was linked to drugs smuggling and the U.S. demand that he be handed over to U.S. justice did not play a part at first. But his close connections with paramilitary formations—including the former Tontons Macoutes, on which Duvalier and, quite recently, Namphy relied—began to emerge. The colonel could no longer be forgiven this in the current situation. So the terrible and vastly rich Jean-Claude Paul was forced to retire. Lieutenant Colonel Guy Francois was appointed to replace him. That is the "immovable" Paul for you!

The recent meeting between the new president, Lieutenant General Prosper Avril, and Rene Theodore, secretary general of the Unified Party of Haitian Communists Central Committee, is being called unprecedented in Haiti's history. For almost 3 hours they discussed the prospects of further democratizing the country and the possibilities for its economic development.

What has been heard about the ousted Haitian ruler General Henri Namphy? It is reported from the Dominican Republic that he is now at a military base near Santo Domingo—that country's capital. The former head of Haiti has even been refused a hotel room.

## Political & Social

### Kremlin Moves Form 'New Political Elite'

*PM0610140888 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 5 Oct 88 p 13*

[Interview with Soviet historian Yevgeniy Ambartsumov by Fiammetta Cucurnia; date, place not given]

[Text] Moscow—"We are witnessing the formation of a new political elite." The author of this radical and even rather surprising statement is Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, the well-known Soviet political analyst, historian, and sociologist, who is closely acquainted with the environment—being part of it himself—in which the new Kremlin leadership group developed. Of course it is not only in the West that political analysts' attention has been drawn by the past week's events. The entire Soviet intelligentsia is striving to interpret in the minutest detail the significance of the changes brought about by the latest plenum—and for them it is not purely of academic interest.

[Cucurnia] Yevgeniy Arshakovich, what prompted Gorbachev to revolutionize the face of the Soviet leadership overnight?

[Ambartsumov] I believe Gorbachev's latest travels around the country were very influential. Not only his visit to Krasnoyarsk, which has been discussed so much, but also his visit to Sevastopol in Crimea, where he vacationed, which the press did not report at all. An acquaintance of mine who lives there told me that the moment the rumor spread that Gorbachev had arrived in the city, people went down into the streets to see him. They all had something to ask and discuss; everyone wanted to remind Mikhail Sergeyevich that the food supplies situation shows no sign of improving and that, despite restructuring, people's lives are becoming more and more difficult. Gorbachev later commented on this when he said: 'They seized me by the throat.' Not that he was surprised: No. In any case the fact that people talk to him so sincerely bears witness to a genuine rapport, which has become established between the people and the country's leader for the first time in many years. I believe that Gorbachev concluded that it was necessary to accelerate the pace of the changes and that to do so it was necessary to replace the men responsible for managing this process as soon as possible.

[Cucurnia] Do you believe it is enough to change the leaders to impart a new turn to the reform?

[Ambartsumov] Yes, I believe that the economic and political reform will be accelerated. Many obstacles have been eliminated in this way: It was essential to be rid of those who approach restructuring at the old pace and with the old methods.

[Cucurnia] So Gorbachev has forced the pace. He even decided to move the presidential election forward by 6 months. Do you not believe that he has thus somewhat diminished the significance of the spring elections?

[Ambartsumov] In my opinion Gorbachev's election as president signifies only one thing: The leadership wants to demonstrate unequivocally its intention to concentrate all the power in its own hands in order to accelerate the implementation of the reforms. Of course the democratic form is important. I too have the impression that democratic methods are not yet sufficiently developed. However, people need concrete results. Gorbachev has given a sign to the population by shouldering all the responsibility himself.

[Cucurnia] So will the next election be a mere formality, as in the past?

[Ambartsumov] I would say that the vast majority of the population want restructuring and regard Gorbachev's continuation at the head of the country as a kind of political guarantee. His election as president constitutes the institutionalization of this guarantee. Personally, I do not consider this an exciting solution: I am a supporter of the presidential republic in which the chief of state is elected by direct universal suffrage. In this specific instance, however, I believe that Gorbachev's election really is an additional guarantee.

[Cucurnia] Do you not believe that this conflicts with the start on the separation of powers between party and state?

[Ambartsumov] There is indeed a certain inconsistency. However, we must not forget that Friday's [30 September] plenum also set in motion a process of democratization and rationalization of party activity by creating secretariat commissions and restoring to the state a number of functions hitherto performed by the party.

[Cucurnia] Yevgeniy Arshakovich, many leaders regarded as opponents of Gorbachev, such as Chebrikov or Shcherbitskiy or even Yegor Ligachev, were demoted at the latest plenum, but without being excluded. How do you explain this?

[Ambartsumov] Few victories are achieved all at once. In any case, none of us knows for certain what relations within the Soviet leadership are really like.

[Cucurnia] You are acquainted with the Kremlin's "new man," Vadim Medvedev. What can you say about him?

[Ambartsumov] People equipped with an intellectual and cultural training qualitatively different from that of the "technician-officials" are gradually rising to the top of the party. Medvedev, like Yakovlev, has a breadth of outlook and an open-mindedness that far transcend traditional political outlooks confined within narrow party limits. Let us say that within the CPSU leadership

a generation of modern leaders is taking shape and becoming established—a group which, among other things, is very much more widely and comprehensively informed about the outside world.

## Further on Medvedev Plenum News Conference

*PM0610194088 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 41, 8-14 Oct 88 (Signed to Press 6 Oct) pp 1-2*

[Unattributed report on news conference given by V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center on 30 September after CPSU Central Committee plenum: "A Logical Step"—first four paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] As has been reported, a CPSU Central Committee plenum was held on 30 September 1988. It examined the Politburo's proposals connected with the reorganization of the party apparatus and certain cadre questions.

At a news conference held at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center after the plenum finished its work, V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who was elected member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo at the plenum, addressed Soviet and foreign journalists.

After briefing those present on the decisions adopted, he noted, in particular, that the plenum was a necessary and logical step in the work of the party and its Central Committee, and in the implementation of the 19th all-union party conference decisions.

V.A. Medvedev then answered questions.

Question: Has restructuring gained as a result of the decisions adopted?

Medvedev: I am sure the cause will advance steadily. I have already said that in my opinion this is a major step in implementing the party's line of restructuring and putting into practice the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union conference.

Question: How long did the plenum last?

Medvedev: The plenum opened at 1100 hours (30 September—editor). It did not last long, something like an hour; that is, as long as was necessary to resolve the organizational problems.

Question: Who initiated the convening of the plenum? Some people think it was organized so quickly that E.A. Shevardnadze and other members of the Politburo had to change their plans drastically. Why did this happen? Could it be because of the impressions M.S. Gorbachev formed in Krasnoyarsk?

Medvedev: The Politburo initiated the convening of the plenum. I think the impressions M.S. Gorbachev gained from his trip to Krasnoyarsk confirmed the need for major measures in the sphere of the political system and the reorganization of the apparatus. But I do not think this influenced the schedule for the implementation of the measures we discussed. As for the fact that E.A. Shevardnadze had to slightly shorten his stay at the UN General Assembly session, there is nothing here that indicates any kind of emergency. It is normal practice; the coordination of the timetable for domestic and international events does not always go "without a hitch."

Question: Did the Central Committee vote unanimously on these cadre changes? A second question. You said that the Politburo initiated the convening of the plenum. When and at what session did the Politburo decide to convene this plenum?

Medvedev: I really cannot remember the exact date now. Is it important?

As for the voting, all the decisions on organizational and cadre questions were adopted unanimously. The plenum resolution was also adopted unanimously.

Question: Why was A.A. Gromyko unable to wait for 5 or 6 months before retiring?

Medvedev: I must say that A.A. Gromyko had informed the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee before of his desire to retire. So this was not the first time the question had been raised. This question had gradually come to a head.

Question: Concerning the reform of the political system, what questions, from the viewpoint of the 19th party conference, will have to be tackled first of all now, after the Central Committee plenum?

Medvedev: Apart from the questions that were resolved by the Central Committee plenum, questions connected with amendments to the USSR Constitution and the new electoral law have been discussed in the party Central Committee and in the Politburo. Proposals have been drawn up on this score. They will be examined by a CPSU Central Committee commission, the commission for the drafting of proposals connected with the reform of the political system. These proposals will be submitted for broad nationwide discussion. After that, probably in November, the USSR Supreme Soviet, following all the procedures, will examine these proposals. In accordance with this, it is proposed, in the event that the USSR Supreme Soviet adopts the proposals drawn up, to begin preparing for elections to the Congress of People's Deputies—we are using the terms used in the party conference decisions.

Question: Does the formation of six CPSU Central Committee commissions mean a reduction in the number of Central Committee departments? And if so, does this mean a reduction in the number of people working at the Central Committee?

Medvedev: Yes, the formation of the commissions presupposes that the departments of the CPSU Central Committee will be structured along approximately the same lines. That means a substantial reduction in the number of departments and major reductions in the numerical strength of the Central Committee apparatus. The reduction in the numerical strength of the apparatus will affect not only the CPSU Central Committee, but also republican Communist Party Central Committees and party obkoms, though to a lesser degree. As for the lower-level party committees—the party raykoms and gorkoms—here there will be virtually no reduction in the party apparatus, or if there is, it will be very small.

Question: Could you clarify the expression "substantial reduction"? Does this mean a reduction of 50 percent or more?

Medvedev: A substantial reduction could mean by half. In the very near future this reduction of the apparatus will take on tangible, practical forms. This is a complex problem, because skilled cadres with great political and professional experience are concentrated in the party apparatus. It is a question of creating favorable conditions for the people who will cease their activity in the Central Committee apparatus to transfer to other sectors of work—in the state and economic management apparatus, teaching work, or work in their speciality.

Question: You are chairman of the commission on ideological questions. What do you see as your priority tasks as chairman of this commission? I believe in recent months people have been very worried about the future of glasnost and the further development of socialist pluralism. How would you want to act?

Medvedev: It is too early for me to speak about my functions, plans, and ideas as yet. Everything has to be considered. But one thing is clear: that the line of restructuring, the line of democratization and glasnost, will continue in the ideological sphere. No deviation from the decisions and the practical measures adopted earlier need be expected.

At the same time, in line with the new stage of restructuring that M.S. Gorbachev spoke of at his meeting with workers from the press and the creative unions—the stage characterized by the transition from primarily soapbox methods, discussions, and stormy debates to practical implementation and the restructuring of various spheres of public life—it is obvious that it is also necessary to use the methods of ideological work to promote this process in every way and to tackle the major tasks of implementing the cardinal economic reform and restructuring of the political system. Without, naturally, renouncing sharply critical work methods and analysis of what is happening, in accordance with the principles formulated by our party during the recent period.

Question: Were there debates at the plenum, in particular over Ye.K. Ligachev's transfer to the commission on agriculture from the ideological sector?

Medvedev: There were no debates on this question at the plenum. And the question is inaccurately formulated. Comrade Ye.K. Ligachev was concerned with agricultural matters before, among other things. Now he is concentrating on them.

Question: Who will chair the Politburo sessions?

Medvedev: The functions of chairman at Politburo sessions, according to established tradition and all the norms of our work, are fulfilled by the general secretary. In his absence the conduct of Politburo sessions is entrusted to someone else each time. This procedure has applied in the past, and I expect it will continue in future.

Question: You said that Comrade I.V. Kapitonov was released from his duties in connection with his retirement, but you did not say whether a new chairman of the Auditing Commission was elected.

Medvedev: I did not say, because it is hard to say anything on this matter. No chairman of the Auditing Commission was elected. I can only add one thing to that—to remind you how this question was raised at the all-union party conference. There was talk there of forming a combined control body for the party, of combining the Party Control Committee and the Auditing Commission.

Question: Could you comment on the differences, the different views, of E.A. Shevardnadze and Ye.K. Ligachev on the place of the class struggle in determining the course of Soviet foreign policy?

Medvedev: I do not see any fundamental differences here. The statements you have in mind reflect the normal process of discussion. There are no fundamental differences here, although, of course, peculiarities of interpretation and particular nuances may vary. I think the question of the relationship between common human values and class values and how to reflect these interests in our foreign policy course merits discussion. Discussion both by specialists, and by scientists, and by politicians. The discussion process is an entirely normal phenomenon.

Question: How will the work of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat be organized?

Medvedev: The question of the forms that the party Central Committee's work takes in connection with the formation of the commissions, on which a decision was adopted at the Central Committee plenum, will be subject to additional study. At the moment it is hard for me to say how the work of Central Committee secretaries will be organized. Time will tell. This question was not discussed at the plenum today.

## Latvian Supreme Soviet Holds Session 6 Oct

### Personnel Changes Noted

*LD0610193588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Text] A session of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet was held today. There was a discussion of the work done by the republic's soviets of people's deputies, ministries, departments, and industrial enterprises to speed up the development of the material and technical base of the agro-industrial complex and the social reorganization in the countryside.

At the session Comrade Vagris was released from his deputies as chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet in connection with his election as first secretary of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party. Comrade Gorbunov, who is working as a secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, was elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Latvian SSR. Comrade Bresis, who has been working as chairman of the Latvian State Agro-Industrial Committee, was elected chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers. Comrade Ruben was released from his duties as chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers in connection with his retirement on a pension.

### Biography of Gorbunov

*LD0610130388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1235 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Riga, 6 Oct (TASS)—Anatoliy Gorbunov was today elected chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet Presidium. He replaces Janis Vagris in this post, who some days ago was elected first secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee.

The labor biography of Anatoliy Gorbunov began in the countryside where he worked as a master builder. But the pull toward public activity, which became manifest even in his student years, drew him into the Komsomol and then party work. For the past 3 years Anatoliy Gorbunov has been secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. In the republic his name is associated with fresh approaches in the area of ideology and cultural leadership. His active participation in developing the large-scale program for the development of culture and art in Latvia—'Kultura-2000'—gained a major response.

Anatoliy Gorbunov, a Latvian by nationality, had higher polytechnical education in Riga and passed through the Academy of Social Sciences in Moscow.

### Language Issues Discussed

*LD0610233788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Excerpt] In Riga today, at the session of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, there was a discussion of tasks for speeding up the development of the material and technical base of the agro-industrial complex and the social redevelopment of the rural area. It was noted that if all enterprises had performed to the standard of the best ones, the republic would have received an additional income of R300 million at least. The way to rectify the state of affairs is to enhance the role of soviets. The session adopted a decision about giving the Latvian language the status of the state language on the territory of the Latvian SSR.

It also envisages the development of a draft law on the use of republican languages. [passage omitted]

## Paper Profiles Estonian Popular Front Leader

*PM0610112588 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 29 Sep 88 p 10*

[Harald Hamrin report: "Estonia Is Preparing for a Lengthy Struggle"]

[Text] Tallinn—Edgar Savisaar, leader of Estonia's new Popular Front, admits a mistake. He thought that it was enough to "storm the Bastille" for the victory to be won.

"Perhaps we were wrong when we imagined that everything would be over if we only won a couple of major battles," he said. "In actual fact you have to accept that it will be a positional war that will go on for many years."

The "war" he speaks of is about Estonia's future. Its self-assertion in the face of Moscow. Its political, economic, and cultural sovereignty within the framework of a loosely knit federation of Soviet states. Its right to determine its own fate.

The "war" is also about something much deeper: the dignity of the individual, his right to make his own decisions, to live without fear, and, together with other citizens, to build the society he or she wants to live in.

Or, as he formulated his political credo in June this year, when he stood before 150,000 people at Tallinn's Song Festival Grounds and urged his compatriots to be "strong and united."

"We are now standing here, shoulder to shoulder, and we know that no matter what happens we will never again let anyone turn us into blind executants of others' decisions. If we are strong, if we feel our strength, then

no one will be able to make decisions in our place—what we are to produce, what we are to eat, where we are allowed to travel, whom we should elect, and which flag we are to carry."

Edgar Savisaar is in his forties, a little chubby, with a firm gaze behind his spectacles and a voice which does not hesitate. He talked to DAGENS NYHETER in Estonian, through a Swedish-speaking interpreter. Someone said that his Russian is not such as to allow him to formulate his thoughts as he wants. Others said that he has a strong feeling for his right to be able to speak in his own language in all situations.

By education and profession he is an economist and he earns his living as deputy head of a consultancy firm which advises companies on how they can sort out their shaky finances. But he has become known—and even revered—in Estonia as the unofficial leader of its young Popular Front.

Next weekend around 2,500 delegates from throughout the republic will gather to formally constitute the Popular Front as a "political movement." Everyone is expecting that Edgar Savisaar will be elected its first chairman.

But the Popular Front already has a year's history behind it, and so-called "initiative groups for the Popular Front" began to be formed in April this year.

Savisaar himself points to two events as triggering factors behind the process which has now "ripened" into a new political situation in Estonia.

One was the campaign against the mining of phosphorites in northeastern Estonia and the "Greens" movement which sprang from it (see DAGENS NYHETER 26 September).

The second was the article on economic autonomy published in a Tartu paper in September last year. One of its four authors was Edgar Savisaar.

"All this awoke a broad response from the whole population," he said. "And a political movement was born from this during 1988, as a natural continuation."

The preconditions for the development of a new political situation were more favorable here in Estonia than elsewhere in the Soviet Union.

"Estonia has old democratic traditions, at least in comparison with the rest of the Soviet Union," Savisaar said. "And the stagnation here in Estonia was deeper."

By way of example he mentioned that in the last 10-15 years Lithuania has made significant progress in the economic field and Latvia has stood still. Estonia, on the other hand, "actually went backward." Tiit Made, another of the four authors of the article in the Tartu newspaper, made this even clearer: In 1987 alone the "average Estonian" lost R60 of his income.

So the article by "the four" grew and came to form the foundation for the program of the developing Popular Front. Tiit Made put it like this:

"For 40 years the Estonian people have patiently put up with things. Now they have begun to protest. Estonia's economic development is no longer possible within the framework of a centralized economic system."

As a base for a real reform of Estonian society three major changes above all are needed:

In general political terms Estonia needs "a government which issues from the Estonian people, which works for Estonia and not for Moscow."

Responsibility for the Estonian economy, which today is 91-percent controlled by the central ministries in Moscow, must be transferred to the Estonian authorities. Today's "colonial policy, the colonization of the Estonian economy," must cease.

The existing "colonial price system" is not "to Estonia's advantage." Estonia sells its meat, its butter, and its milk at artificially low prices and imports from the rest of the Soviet Union machines and oil at artificially high prices.

These ideas on Estonian economic autonomy turn up in the Popular Front's proposed political program—which was published in the press 19 August and which will be adopted at the weekend's congress, with certain modifications—and are supplemented by others.

The program speaks for example of "the private ownership of the means of production" and of "the transfer of land to permanent exploitation" by farmers. It calls for "a new profile for industry," that is, a transfer from labor-intensive to capital-intensive (and high-tech) industry, through which the past and present "import" of chiefly Russian labor would cease. And it demands the right for Estonia to develop "independent economic contacts" with foreign countries.

A number of other demands are also listed in their turn—either as the continuation of the above or as repercussions of them: separate Estonian citizenship, the introduction of Estonian as the "state language," the "decentralization of power," the abolition of "one political organization's monopoly right to govern the state," a democratic electoral system, "practical guarantees" of the individual's security under the law, including respect for the confidentiality of letters and protection against telephone tapping, the right of Estonian men to do military service in Estonia, and much more.

In the field of nationality policy, the program opposes the current "assimilation policy" with its "mixed kindergartens and schools."

"The Popular Front is defending the Estonians' right to remain the main nation on their age-old territory," the program also states (Estonians are now down to around 60 percent of the total population—DAGENS NYHETER note). Today there is a threat that the Estonians will become a minority inside their historical homeland.

A section on history demands that Stalinism and the mass deportations in 1941 and 1949 be branded "a crime against humanity" and that the victims of Stalinism should without exception be given political rehabilitation and material compensation.

The program gives the Popular Front's overall goal as "political, economic, and cultural sovereignty for the Soviet Republic of Estonia within the framework of the Soviet Union as a federation of republics."

Thus in other words the Popular Front is stopping one step—but only a little step—short of the demand for a full and formal withdrawal from the Soviet Union. There can be no doubt that in their heart of hearts many Estonians would like to take even that step, but a majority realize at the same time that that demand is unrealistic (at least for the time being).

Edgar Savisaar summarized the Popular Front's dual political strategy: the struggle "to democratize the whole of society and for a distribution of power within society" and the willingness to give the pro-reform forces in the Communist Party active support in their difficult showdown with the strong conservative groups, whose back no one has yet succeeded in breaking.

### Kuybyshev Activist Complains of Harassment

*PM0610145988 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 3 Oct 88 p 17*

[Unattributed report: "Movement Spreads"]

[Text] Tallinn—Among the observers at the Popular Front congress in Tallinn there are representatives of pro-restructuring movements from various parts of the Soviet Union. And it is not just in the Baltic republics and the Caucasus that various popular fronts have grown up—people have also formed fronts to defend restructuring in Moscow, Leningrad, and several other cities in Russia.

But while the Estonian Communist Party has backed the Popular Front, the authorities elsewhere are often very negative toward this form of citizens' activity. Leonid Levanov, who came to Tallinn as a representative of the Popular Front in the city of Kuybyshev, northeast of Moscow, told of the difficulties.

"When it emerged that I had joined the Popular Front, I was immediately fired from my job and since then I have been unemployed. Another member was arrested and held for 11 days in the court's section for psychiatric cases. A third was expelled from the Communist Party."

According to Levanov, neither restructuring nor glasnost has reached Kuybyshev. The district party leader, a supporter of the conservatives' most prominent figure, Yegor Ligachev, did have to leave his post, it is true, but the new leader has so far refused to show his true colors. The militia chief, the head of the prosecutor's office, and the party second secretary are still the same people as during the Brezhnev era. According to Levanov, the press is still in the grasp of the conservatives.

The Popular Front in Kuybyshev has not grown up as a result of national tensions—the city after all lies in the heart of Mother Russia.

"Our task is to support restructuring and democratic principles. Anti-Semitism is not particularly strong and the Pamyat organization, for example, has not gained a strong foothold in my home city. We do not want to have anything to do with Pamyat members—we regard them as fascists," Levanov said.

On the other hand environmental issues loom large in the front's work. There are already large chemical plants in the city, and now people have heard that there are plans to build a large factory for chemical weapons at Chapayevsk, a little over 40 km from Kuybyshev. According to Levanov, this factory would represent an enormous risk to the population, since the railroads are in such bad repair. Levanov is well aware that there will be problems waiting when he returns home from the congress.

"I am expecting to be forced to move to another city. The members of my family have already been harassed because of me, but I know that what I am doing is legal and right. Man must strive to move forward," he said.

### Lithuania Issues Decree on Flags, Language

*LD0710130488 Moscow TASS in English 1247 GMT 7 Oct 88*

[Text] Vilnius October 7 TASS—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of Lithuania issued a decree on state, national and regional symbols. The decree is published in this Soviet Baltic republic today.

The decree says that as the social involvement of people is increasing in recent time, interest in national and regional symbols is also surging. The latter enrich cultural life, increase the emotional impact, and represent a considerable part of the historico-cultural heritage.

Lithuania's public organisations, work collectives and citizens submitted quite a few proposals for a more extensive use of national symbols, which were considered by the commission on questions of refining the constitutional statute at the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the republic. Flags can be used during the events held by youth and student societies and public organisations, during song and dance holidays, and in other cases. However, the violation of the provision on the state flag of Soviet Lithuania is inadmissible.

For the purposes of the natural functioning and development of the Lithuanian language the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania also ruled to give it the status of the state language of the republic.

## Further on Nagorno-Karabakh Ethnic Unrest

### Baku on Commission's Work

*NC0710075688 Baku International Service in Azeri 1300 GMT 5 Oct 88*

[Text] The members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Interethnic Relations have begun their on-the-spot study of the problems which concern Nagorno-Karabakh. A. Voss, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Nationalities, is heading the commission.

The strained situation in Nagorno-Karabakh was caused by the demand for its transfer from Azerbaijan SSR to Armenian SSR. The members of the commission have been holding talks with the representatives of workers and intellectuals, along with the representatives of establishments and organizations in Stepanakert, which is the administrative center of Nagorno-Karabakh.

### Commission Continues Work

LD0610133488 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0600 GMT on 6 October broadcasts a report from Stepanakert by Sergey Omelchenko on the continuing visit there by a group of deputies from the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Interethnic Relations. Omelchenko opens his report by summing up the local mood:

"The commission members have been fully occupied with meetings, conversations, and discussions on the problems, the difficult problems, of Nagorno-Karabakh. The concerns, thoughts, and aspirations of the autonomous oblast's population were represented by party and local soviet leaders, by intellectuals, workers, and farmers, by Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Each speech by Karabakh people at meetings with the deputies is the result of decades of suffering from the indifferent, heartless attitude toward Nagorno-Karabakh of the leading bureaucrats and functionaries and of the lack of understanding on the part of many of the leaders of the ethnic peculiarities and the national tragedy that has been endured for months. Probably for this reason there have been heated, extreme speeches."

Omelchenko then interviews workers from the Stepanakert condenser works. A man points out that the visiting commission includes Anatoliy Ivanovich Mayorets, USSR minister of power and electrification, and a USSR Supreme Soviet delegate from the oblast. He says:

"I think I would be expressing the common opinion of our whole collective if I said that Comrade Mayorets could have come to our oblast sooner in connection with our (?recent) events."

A woman says: "We all think that until our issue, the Karabakh issue, is resolved, we will not go to work."

Another woman says that restructuring and glasnost were now engaged in correcting the mistakes of the past, but the Central Committee also should give thought to putting right the mistakes of those still living.

Yes, Omelchenko says, "the deputies have gathered during these days much information to reflect upon." He then interviews Avgust Eduardovich Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Soviet of Nationalities chairman of the Commission on Interethnic Relations, and leader of the group of deputies. Voss says:

"We have come with the aim of studying of state of affairs and of studying and analyzing everything taken together, of considering it comprehensively, of approaching the issue carefully, of course, and of returning to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with appropriate proposals, which are taking shape. We are ready for this. We consider our trip here to be useful on the whole. Many meetings and conversations have taken place, such as this one in an interesting labor collective. This gives us the opportunity of objectively and correctly approaching our consideration of the question and of evaluating the position and the whole situation."

### Meeting in Yerevan Reported

*NC0610192188 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Interethnic Relations; Boris Kravtsov, deputy chairman of the Commission on Interethnic Relations and USSR minister of justice; and Petr Luchinskiy, member of the commission and second secretary of the Central Committee of the Tajikstan Communist Party, who were in Nagorno-Karabakh as members of the commission headed by Avgust Voss, are in Yerevan.

A meeting was held at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee between Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, and Kravtsov and Luchinskiy. They spoke about the objectives of the commission sent to Nagorno-Karabakh, which is related to the proposals

made at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 18 July this year, as well as about the examination of the proposals put forward by the republic's party and soviet bodies and the workers collectives concerning ways of regulating the problem.

During the discussions, Suren Arutyunyan expressed deep concern about developments in the republic and about the bad situation that has been created. He expressed his views on ways to normalize the situation. He outlined the measures taken toward this end and pointed out that the accumulated problems in Nagorno-Karabakh are a source of great concern for the wide strata of the republic. [Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian at 0300 GMT on 6 October carries a similar report, adding here the following: "Present at the meeting were Fadey Sarkisyan, [name indistinct], Galust Galoyan, and Gambaryan."]

### Arutyunyan, Kravtsov Cited

*LD0610195388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it continues to worry us. Members of the commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet Boris Vasiliyevich Kravtsov, deputy chairman of that commission and USSR minister of justice, and Petr Kirillovich Luchinskiy, second secretary of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee, have arrived in Yerevan. Our special correspondents Koryun Khomaryan and and Yuriy Korotkov report:

[Korotkov] A meeting with the members of the commission took place in the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. They reported on their visit to Nagorno-Karabakh. They also talked about their mission in a special program on republican television. Today, Comrades Kravtsov and Luchinskiy met with a group of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet from Armenia and they visited the Aleksandr Myasnikyan No 1 Knitwear Association where they talked with the workers. Also taking part in that meeting was Suren Gurgenovich Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee:

[Begin Arutyunyan recording] I think that the arrival of the deputy chairman of the commission here in Armenia together with Comrade Luchinskiy is very important and useful for us because we have had the opportunity today to express our point of view. By the way, today's visit to your collective is also in pursuit of the aim that your opinion should be taken into account by the members of the commission who will subsequently continue this work in Moscow in order to work out some recommendations and proposals to relieve the very great tension that exists in the situation today here in Armenia, in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and in Azerbaijan. I would like to point out just one thing to you. You know that all of these problems must be resolved by constitutional and legal means, not by methods of pressure. I would like to say that the situation that has arisen in the region today is, so to speak, the object of very serious attention on the part of the CPSU Central Committee and the leadership of our party. And so, it is necessary not to succumb to instigatory appeals for strikes and various antisocial actions. I think that the best way to solve all of these problems is our high level of organization and cohesion and fulfilling our duty to our republic and to our working people. [end recording]

[Korotkov] Many workers spoke at the meeting and I think that the opinion of the collective was expressed most clearly and convincingly by Laura Israelyan, a senior technologist:

[Begin recording] [Israelyan in Armenian with superimposed Russian translation] Our collective is one of the most progressive in the republic. After the Karabakh events all of the people and the working class were extremely indignant. We are a people who work and we never want strikes. But what forces people to take such an extreme step? We do not want territory. We want our people to live well there and live confidently. The creative strengths of the people who gave their lives in the years of the war were revealed there to the full. Great thanks to the Government of the USSR which is taking serious steps to provide an objective solution to the questions that are worrying all of us.

[Kravtsov] That is what we are working for. [end recording]

[Khomaryan] It is Boris Vasiliyevich Kravtsov, deputy chairman of the commission, who is speaking.

[Begin Kravtsov recording] First of all, comrades, all the members of the commission, and not only the members of the commission but all the Soviet people, are suffering from these events that took place in Nagorno-Karabakh. This is understandable and it is very unpleasant that such events have taken place. But now we see that the situation is complicated, serious, and not simple, not at all simple. Grievances, and certainly from both sides, have accumulated for decades. These questions which now demand a solution must, of course, be tackled and not put off indefinitely, naturally. What specific solution will be adopted I, naturally, am not able to tell you at the moment. But we are examining various options, so to speak. What we have in mind, I would like to say, is to resolve the question in the most just way so that this solution should be understandable for everyone. [end recording]

### Sarkisyan at Opera Square

*NC0610190988 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Fadey Sarkisyan, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, met with Yerevan residents at Opera Square. He stated that the republic's leadership is

striving to solve problems and difficulties with the aim of regulating the situation in the cities and regions, and he answered many questions from the participants.

With due regard for the wishes of the meeting's participants, it was decided the same day to establish a permanently functioning commission on refugee questions which will be headed by Vladimir Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR's Council of Ministers. The office of the republic's prosecutor has been entrusted with adopting measures to accelerate investigations into the case of the mass poisoning in the Garun sewing production union in Masisskiy Oblast, and to provide timely information to the residents during the investigations.

### Students Express Views

*NC0610194488 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] The students of the diaspora who are studying in Yerevan have held a meeting and expressed their views on the incidents that have taken place in Nagorno-Karabakh and Yerevan. They expressed their desire for a just solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh issue. They strongly criticized the various press and news organs for misrepresenting realities, and condemned provocative anti-Armenian reporting. During the meeting, criticisms were aimed at the press and at various organs of the state, (?namely) ARMENPRES. The students consider it unacceptable that certain Armenians of the diaspora who give their views through the homeland's media sometimes speak on behalf of all the diaspora. They expressed their wish that the leadership of the Armenian SSR will do everything from now on to meet the demands concerning the solution of the problems of the Armenians of Artsakh. [Armenian name for Nagorno-Karabakh]

### Food, Refugee Situation

*LD0710091488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 7 Oct 88*

[Text] In the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast the situation remains tense. Listen to what our correspondent Sergey Omelchenko has to say about it.

[Omelchenko] For several days now a Nagorno-Karabakh obkom official has been phoning around enterprises in Stepanakert and putting a mark on the schedule where the number of workers showing up for work has to be indicated. If a figure has been entered, then it is purely a symbolic one. Strikes are one of the characteristic features of life in the autonomous oblast today. Many people of tired of it. They are tired of the constant expectation either of unpleasantness or of good news.

The Supreme Soviet Commission on Interethnic Relations has begun operating actively in Nagorno-Karabakh and has given people optimism, although among the residents of this mountain region there are still sufficient accusations being leveled on both sides and various plausible and implausible rumors are being spread. For the moment, little is being done either by the residents themselves or by the leaders of various ranks here in the oblast, irrespective of whether they are Azerbaijanis or Armenians, to normalize the situation.

What is going to happen? This is question that a great many people are asking. People who have moved out of Azerbaijani and Armenian settlements and villages are asking this. It is hard. We can see how the people are suffering. But who is running the show? For the moment the competent bodies are trying to find this out. For a description of the situation in one of the tense areas, I will ask the commandant of the Agdamskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan, Vasily Fedorovich Kolesnikov, to talk to us.

[Kolesnikov] On the whole, the situation in Agdam and Agdamskiy Rayon has stabilized. We are now engaged in rendering assistance to the residents of the remote villages. In particular, over this period 50 trucks have been sent to Shusha laden with foodstuffs. Trucks have also been sent to remote villages like Zhemili and Lesnoye. There the villagers have asked for aid, for medical assistance. Today we helped send to Zhemili village two traveling shops and a group of doctors in a traveling clinic [sanitarnaya mashina]. The same work has been done for the people of Lesnoye.

[Omelchenko] At the moment a great many refugees are moving from one area to another. What assistance is being given to those people?

[Kolesnikov] The first main task was to house them. It must be said that the leadership of the Agdamskiy Rayon has taken all measures to provide these people with temporary accommodation in sanatoriums and clinics. In order to provide these people with food, a certain sum of money has been allocated. At present, the party and local soviet bodies of the rayon and the officers of our units are working to explain the situation among the refugees so that they will return to their own areas and their previous way of life. This means that we are trying to give these people all kinds of assistance.

### Karabakh, Refugee Problems

*PM0610140788 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 6 Oct 88 p 3*

[Special correspondent O. Akulova report: "Zone of Discord"]

[Text] Yerevan-Stepanakert-Baku—When you fly over this oblast in an aircraft the beauty below is breathtaking—a soft green carpet on gently sloping hills, even lines of vines, and the little islands of the orchards. There is fine fall weather, the harvesting toil has not yet abated, grapes and vegetables are being brought in. But from this fact alone it can be guessed that something alarming is happening. No machines can be seen, the roads are quiet. When you look closely you can see that the slender strips

of the roads are covered by armored transport carriers and military posts. At the airfield there is a circle of soldiers in blue berets. How strange and alien the concept of a "curfew" seems to us. But you soon realize how necessary it is in this complex situation.

**The "Karabakh" hotel in the center of Stepanakert is filled with Armenian refugees from Shusha. Children run along the corridors, soup simmers on the electric cookers, spreading the aroma of the old "communal kitchens," and cautious faces look at you from scarcely opened doors—to see who the new person—you—is and what you have brought—good or bad. Many people, on learning I am from a newspaper, shut their doors tightly: The fear they experienced recently has generated distrust in people. So my neighbor in the next room at the hotel, an elderly woman, refused to give her surname, giving only her first name, but immediately correcting herself: "Better call me Marusya."**

In just one day half the Armenian families left Shusha, where the population is mainly Azerbaijani. The barbaric burning down of apartment blocks was a sign of the trouble.

"And where will you go now?" I asked my neighbor.

"I don't know, as long as I get out of here."

In her eyes there was not simply fear but also a question to which I was utterly unable to give a reply—what is happening, why are people who used to live in peace and harmony becoming enemies? Who has divided them, scattered them in different directions, split them according to nationality, and why?

Over 1,000 refugees from Nagorno-Karabakh have gathered in Agdam—the administrative center of an Azerbaijani rayon bordering on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The problem of their housing, settling in, and provision with food and necessities is very acute.

"We have also had to undertake emergency measures," S. Murtuzayev, secretary of the Agdamskiy party raykom, says. "The square has been blocked off by armored transport carriers and patrols and the trunks of automobiles and passes are checked carefully at the entrance. So far there have been no special emergency situations but precautionary measures are essential."

The refugees, mainly Azerbaijanis from Stepanakert, are continuing to arrive.

Dairy combine foreman Sh. Bashirov says:

"Really young men, boys of 16 or 17, broke into my house with sticks, sharp steel spikes, and small axes. They destroyed all the furniture, broke the windows, and poured acid on the carpet."

**The voice of this seemingly uncowardly man breaks and his hands tremble. And there is an unvoiced question in his eyes: Why has he, who was born and grew up on this land, become foreign and hated? Surely not just because he is an Azerbaijani? Sevil Shamirova is also asking herself the same difficult question. Until recently she worked as a Komsomol obkom instructor. And suddenly she was boycotted, hounded from work, and it reached the point of overt threats and insults. And that in the Komsomol obkom! So Shamirova had to leave, to leave the house over which someone had affixed the Armenian flag.**

A far from isolated incident. After the NKAO Armenians' demonstration against the appointment of an Azerbaijani as deputy prosecutor of the autonomous oblast, complementary dismissals began to be practised in Stepanakert and Shusha. At one enterprise a person was refused work because he was an Armenian, at the other because he was an Azerbaijani.

Playing on people's national feelings could not fail to lead to serious consequences. Conflicts on national soil have created tension and instability in the situation in the oblast and generated in people a sense of fear, uncertainty, and defenselessness in the face of tyranny and the flagrant violation of their rights and national interests. The oblast's party and soviet workers and law enforcement organs have been unable to prevent instances of the burning down of houses, the plundering of personal property, looting, and even armed clashes.

A real threat to people's health and dignity has arisen. Calls for prudence, restraint, and calm have ceased to have an effect. Thus there has arisen a phenomenon of which we knew hitherto only from hearsay—refugees. Yes, refugees in peacetime.

Human suffering, grief, and anguish are always terrible. And when you see on the roads of two republics hundreds of dispossessed people with no roof over their heads—there are no words to express it. But one thing can be asserted: It was by no means hatred, as some people assert, but pain and despair which had become fixed in these people's eyes.

The problem of the refugees has also created enormous economic difficulties. The inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh, who had always lived peacefully, engaged in traditional industries. The situation which took place historically was that the Azerbaijanis tended livestock and were renowned as excellent stockmen, while the Armenians were renowned as wonderful builders, carpenters, and stonemasons. On many farms now there is no one to graze the sheep or milk the cows. Since the beginning of the year not a single square meter of housing has been commissioned in the villages and cities.

The countryside did not support meetings and strikes. Fieldwork proceeded and is being performed now. Despite individual people's calls to stop the bread and dairy plants, these enterprises are operating. The oblast's

arable farmers have fulfilled the plan for the sale of grain to the state. Vegetables and grapes are being dispatched. But it would be an exaggeration to consider the situation in the countryside normal and stable. Here too nationalist manifestations have arisen recently.

**The Kalinina Kolkhoz, Martukinskiy Rayon, is a small, stable farm: 2,200 hectares of arable land, four population centers. The kolkhoz was recently "broken down into smaller units" by a decision made at a "general" meeting (which, incidentally, was attended by less than half the kolkhoz members) and without serious examination. This decision was then hastily approved by the Martukinskiy Rayispolkom and then by the oblast soviet of people's deputies. It is not hard to understand what lies behind this. By creating four (!) kolkhozes instead of one, they were essentially dividing the farm along national lines: One village (and consequently kolkhoz) was Armenian, another Azerbaijani. The land, equipment, stocks, implements, spades, and rakes were divided up. The terrible boundary divided not only land but also people.**

And this too is not an isolated incident. Several farms in Askeranskiy and Gadrutskiy Rayons have been broken down into smaller units, or in fact divided along national lines. And the process of "breaking down" is continuing. Empty houses, neglected gardens, flocks left unattended, land divided into zones by the boundary. What can be expected, what is to be hoped for! The shelves of the stores even before were not breaking under the abundance of food and now the sale of food in general has been drastically restricted: Food product stocks are not being picked up and economic ties with Baku have been disrupted. The events which have been taking place for several months now in the NKAO have substantially undermined the economy not only of the autonomous oblast but also of the region.

Do those calling for people to "stand to the end" think about this? I spent several days watching meetings in Opera Square in Yerevan. The slogans are the old ones—withdrawing the NKAO from Azerbaijan and joining it to Armenia. "Miatsum!" ("reunification!") shouts the crowd of many thousands, thrusting forward their clenched fists. But let's think: What about the non-Armenian inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh?

I shall cite just one episode which goes a long way toward providing an understanding of this question. Among the refugees from Martuni is Raisa Sarkisyan, a worker at the dairy plant. She is a Kazakh by nationality, her husband an Armenian (he has left his family, it is true) and she has a grown daughter. Their house was also destroyed. And how many mixed marriages there are in the NKAO, and how many children with parents of different nationalities! Where are they to go during these inter-nation reprisals?

But this is obviously of little concern to those who continue to insist on altering the status of the NKAO. In contrast to those first meetings, the demagogic statements are no longer covered by slogans about restructuring. The speeches contain many appeals of an anti-Soviet, anti-Russian, antisocialist nature.

Do many of those speaking here know the true state of affairs in Nagorno-Karabakh—the broken destinies of the people, the hostility and distrust, the paralyzed economy? What is known of all this by, for instance, the sixth grader Karen, whose childish little voice is transmitted loudly by several loudspeakers: "Schoolchildren support the just demands of the NKAO Armenians."

**It is probably already clear to everyone that the meetings and demonstrations which are taking place have been carefully organized and are directed very skillfully. In the past few days, when the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh was sharply aggravated, blatant inciters appeared, people to whose advantage it obviously is to sow discord and sedition.**

And how punctiliously the supply system operates during the meetings! There is nowhere to get a snack in Stepanakert, but when people staged a meeting lasting many hours on the square, hot lunches, cool drinks, and snowy white table napkins appeared.

Even while there was a special situation in Stepanakert, the oblast newspaper SOVETSKIY KARABAKH was publishing statements like this:

Arzik Mkhitaryan, a teacher at the Stepanakert pedagogical institute and candidate of economic sciences: "The way out in the specific solution of the question is the NKAO's withdrawal from the Azerbaijan SSR."

Roza Gabriyelyan, teacher and CPSU member: "We have ceased to be masters in our own house."

Chapayev Oganyan, driver: "Strike!"

It is easy to see where these statements and appeals lead. The zone of discord did not lie only along the boundary of the divided farms. Peace between neighbors has been violated, inter-nation families are falling apart, the children of Armenian and Azerbaijani schools are at odds. Surely the organizers of the mass demonstrations can see this?!

The population has grown tired of the many months of upheavals. An obvious decline is appearing in strikes and meetings and many enterprises are going to work. But some people are continuing to call for "the question to be put even more acutely."

The return of Azerbaijani refugees to the NKAO served as the pretext for the recent events in Nagorno-Karabakh. I talked about this with T.Kh. Orudzhev, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

"That is how the problem of the refugees will be resolved," Telman Khalilovich said. "They must return home, to their houses, and we must ensure their complete safety. Real democracy cannot be replaced by the democracy of the street, the democracy of meetings, in which it is not sense but the worst advisers—emotions and passion—which come first."

**They say what is important is not where you live but how you live. The development of Nagorno-Karabakh has had its difficulties, its blunders, and its errors. It is no accident that a comprehensive program has been elaborated and considerable funds earmarked to rectify the prevailing situation. But essentially the fulfillment of the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on the acceleration of the NKAO's economic and social development is being sabotaged. Capital investments are being assimilated only slowly and people have not yet embarked on the construction of establishments of vital importance for the NKAO, which it was planned to commission in the next few years. As a result, the implementation of the projected measures aimed at normalizing the situation, boosting the living standard, and resolutely improving the population's social and consumer services conditions is being disrupted. Essentially it is restructuring, the restoration of a moral atmosphere, of social justice, which is being undermined, and the solution of many problems is being deferred. This situation is becoming intolerable and contradicts all our laws which forbid the kindling of hostility between peoples and the preaching of national enmity.**

Hostility has not burned hearts to ashes, has not eaten away souls. People remain people. And although the events in Nagorno-Karabakh have caused considerable harm to inter-nation relations, there can nonetheless be no doubt that what has happened cannot undermine completely the friendship of the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples.

...I was told an interesting story here. As symbolic as a legend. Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and Russians have lived side by side for decades in the village of Tug, Gadrutskiy Rayon. It was under a centuries-old plane tree that they always celebrated holidays and weddings and gathered to take counsel when someone was in trouble. For many months now no one has gone near the plane tree. And now—can you understand why?—the tree has begun to wither.

Surely that's a lesson to us? If the law of friendship is violated, life itself may stop.

## Troops' Role in Yerevan

*PM0610154988 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 29 Sep 88 p 2*

[Article by Colonel Ye. Nechayev, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Political Directorate: "Why Are There Soldiers in Yerevan? A Frank Discussion"]

[Text] My first trip to Yerevan 3 years ago to visit an Armenian friend made an indelible impression on me. The age-old splendor of the Matenadaran, the wealth and inimitable local color of the Echmiadzin and Sardarabad museums, the generosity and hospitality of the people of Yerevan, the long heart-to-heart conversations I had with them, the beguiling smile of their beautiful city.... I have no doubt that I will never forget those 12 days which I spent in Armenia, days filled with most interesting encounters. I made new friends here, who invited me with the utmost sincerity to come and see them again. I will not hide the fact that I was touched by those invitations and that in my heart of hearts I was hoping that I would come back here one day.

However, I could not have known, I could not have guessed, that I would come as now, as a political officer together with my subordinates. If you asked me what I feel, I would reply that my heart is heavy with pain.

So why did you come here with your soldiers?—an irritated opponent tries to sting me. I can say frankly, speaking for myself and for every officer and man, that we have come here with pure hearts, and that no one should doubt this. At present our servicemen are also doing their duty in Stepanakert, ensuring the safety of the citizens of all nationalities living there.

However, let us imagine for a moment that internal affairs organ staffers and internal security forces units remained impassive, acting as mere observers, so to speak. The tragedy could get a lot worse. And who can guarantee that the artifically whipped-up emotions will not overflow into specific, horrific, unlawful actions?

I attentively follow the newspapers, listen with emotion to the speeches on Opera Square, and try never to miss a chance to talk to friends or local inhabitants in general.

All kind of voices can be heard. They include appeals which cannot but cause concern.

It is true that there are real problems, but they do not worry the Armenians alone. All Soviet people are concerned with the situation around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. These problems must be resolved. And I believe that they will be resolved.

I understand and share the Armenians' concern for the fate of their brethren. However, I will never understand those who are trying to convince their own people that it is impossible to resolve questions concerning interethnic relations by lawful means.

I am against "labeling," but appeals to resort to strong-arm tactics, and even armed struggle, to resolve problems are not something which, in my opinion, a genuine patriot would make. To allow for the possibility of bloodshed, even if it is done for agitation purposes only, is dangerous and criminal. Those who do it ought to know that they will have to answer before the law and to their own people.

What we probably all still lack is the ability to listen to each other, to be open to other people's opinions, to argue, seek to persuade, and patiently seek solutions to problems, taking account of more than merely our own interests. It has come to light that it is not all that easy to live and to discuss problems in conditions of glasnost.

Conversations with Yerevan residents and people from other cities and villages in Armenia have convinced me that most Armenians assess the events wisely and soberly, do not like extremes, and are concerned and outraged at the fact that individual people are trying to kindle national strife.

Working people are tired of tension, they want to work normally, look after their families, and meet their contract commitments to fellow workers in other parts of the country. After all, it is no secret that the refusal to work here is having painful "reverberations" in the most varied parts of the union and is affecting the material situation of thousands upon thousands of people.

Allow me to cite a number of facts which have stuck in my mind. Private First Class Yu. Verkhoturov and Private I. Donskov were on duty maintaining public order near the Matenadaran. They were approached by two Armenians, a man and his wife, who told them that they had recently gone through a tragedy. Their daughter had died. The material situation of the family had deteriorated. The husband was the only breadwinner. He needed to work and earn money, but public transport was not working and he did not have any private means of transport to be able to reach his plant.

When will all this end, the husband and wife asked the servicemen indignantly. When will order finally be established?

Many patients in Yerevan never got the medical treatment they needed because doctors and nurses could not get to the hospitals and polyclinics.

And everyone knows what effect the local strikes are having on the economy of the country and people's incomes.

On Friday staffers of Ministry of Internal Affairs organs and internal security forces had to protect drivers from groups displaying aggressive behavior. The city has begun to return to a normal working life. Nonetheless this has not passed without attempts to disrupt the normalization of the situation. Individual groups tried to stop drivers from working by using force and insulting them and also insulting internal security forces NCO's and men.

It is my view—and I am convinced that it is shared by all the servicemen who have come to Yerevan—that no attempts to provoke mass unrest or kindle hostility toward officers and men among the inhabitants of the city can persuade us that the agents provocateurs and the Armenian people are one and the same.

On the square in front of the station a group of young guys were shouting slogans and waving their arms. When I came closer I was surprised how young they were, children almost. For them what is happening probably seems like a game.... It is a dangerous game. And those who are organizing this game and sowing seeds of nationalism in the immature hearts of these youngsters are committing a double crime.

This great concern for the hearts of the young people rightly resounds in the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Armenian SSR Council of Ministers Appeal to the republic's communists and working people. And it must not go unheeded.

In the appeal sent by internationalist servicemen of Armenian nationality to the Armenian people, there is one beautiful example which I always cite in conversations with servicemen and NCO's.

Private A.Yu. Badalov, of Azeri nationality, and Private G.E. Dalakyan, an Armenian, were in charge of signals during a combat operation. When our positions came under fire, the camouflage netting caught fire and fell on Private G.E. Dalakyan. Private A.Yu. Badalov, who was nearby, risking his life under enemy fire, helped his comrade-in-arms to put out the flames and dragged him to a safe place.

I say that this is the kind of example from which we should learn how to live together and overcome difficulties, this is the compass which points the only correct way—internationalism. I would like to note that I could cite quite a few examples from the life of our internal security forces, examples of friendship and mutual assistance between soldiers of various nationalities, including Armenians and Azeris.

The working people are tired. The officers and men are tired of sleepless nights, dry rations, and separation from their nearest and dearest. But they are forced to discharge their duty in the defense of citizens' constitutional rights and the protection of the law. And no matter how hard this is for them, they are doing their duty.

...As before, from time to time, irresponsible and dangerous appeals can be heard on Opera Square.

Into whose hands is this playing?—I ask myself and you. And there is another question I would like to ask my imaginary interlocutor: What if emotions overflow and events go too far in accordance with someone's evil intentions? What will happen later when the passions

subside and when we finally realize that it is very difficult to put many things right, and that in some cases it is even impossible? How will we be able to face each other again?

We simply must not allow irreparable damage to be done.

I believe that we will continue to regard each other as brothers. And live together as brothers.

## More on Troops in NKAO

*PM0610115588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Oct 88 First Edition p 4*

[Special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel N. Burbyga article: "Stepanakert: A Time of Anxiety and Hope"]

[Text] Life is gradually returning to normal in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the Azerbaijan SSR's Agdamskiy Rayon, where a special situation was proclaimed and a curfew is in force. I saw this for myself when I visited Stepanakert. I also had an opportunity to travel around Agdamskiy Rayon. It is a fair distance from Yerevan, almost 500 km. I did not get there much before nightfall. I was struck by the deserted roads—I did not come across a single motor vehicle.

The headlamps illuminated an infantry combat vehicle parked across the highway. A few servicemen were standing around it. One of them approached me. He introduced himself: "Sergeant Aglamov." Wearing a bulletproof vest and a helmet, with an assault rifle across his chest. I learned from him that this was the first checkpoint in Agdamskiy Rayon's curfew zone. A grey "Volga" was parked by the roadside, with several men near it engaged in a lively argument in Russian.

"They are detainees," Sgt Aglamov explained, pointing at them. "Firearms were discovered when their vehicle was inspected. All of them, including the driver, are in an unsober state. They claim that they are returning home from a wedding. Now they will be sent to the commandant's office; it is necessary to find out who they are."

I also called at the commandant's office. Duty officer Lieutenant V. Dashkevich told me:

"Movement in the town by night is allowed only to people holding special passes. Anyone else caught between 2100 and 0600 hours is detained and taken to the commandant's office. We establish their identity and, if need be, conduct an investigation."

Just then the door opened. An officer entered the room. He held a shotgun in his hands. He explained:

"Another one confiscated during an inspection. The owner claims that he was on his way here to hand it in." This, apparently, is not a rare occurrence. This was also confirmed by a report shown to me by Lieutenant Colonel V. Semenov, senior officer in charge of the operational group. The report contained information about dozens of firearms confiscated from the rayon's residents in the last few days. These firearms can no longer cause any harm. Curfew zone commandant Lieutenant Colonel V. Shcherbak told me that the introduction of the special situation made it possible to prevent serious breaches of the law.

What does the special situation involve? There is a ban on rallies, demonstrations, parades, street marches, and assemblies of citizens at any time of the day or night, as well as on all entertainment events. Citizens above the age of 16 cannot venture outside their homes or apartments without passes and identity documents.

"And what is needed to obtain a pass?" I asked Lt Col Shcherbakov.

"Leaders of enterprises and organizations file applications with local ispolkoms. The passes are issued by curfew zone commandants," Valeriy Vitalyevich told me.

Furthermore, on the very first day of the special situation, local residents were obliged to hand in all firearms and sidearms at curfew zone collection points situated at the rayon military commissariats, or at the Oblast Military Commissariat in Stepanakert. The commissariats took in the weapons for temporary safekeeping. Proceedings are instituted against people who failed to hand in weapons within the set time.

Harsh measures, to put it bluntly. Not everyone likes them. Rumors are circulating among the population, spreading misleading information as well as calls to resist the authorities. Even direct provocations occur. I was told of the following occurrence. An unidentified motor vehicle equipped with loudspeakers drove through Stepanakert a few days after the special situation was introduced. Broadcasting before the permitted time, it categorically and rudely ordered residents to get off the streets and switch off lights. Who needed this? Probably people who would have liked to aggravate the situation at all costs and cause dissatisfaction with the troops and militiamen engaged in maintaining public order.

Meanwhile, our servicemen are operating calmly, steadfastly, and with restraint. Patrol commander Senior Lieutenant R. Koltsov prevented an incident in Martuni one day in September. An explosive device had been planted near a house. Sr Lt Koltsov noticed a safety fuse burning. Rushing toward it, he succeeded in heaving aside a pipe filled with dynamite. There was an explosion, but nobody was hurt.

Here is another example. An accident occurred in the Karabakh settlement of Khodzhaly, and medical staff appealed to the population to give blood for the victims.

One of the military units heard about this. Without a moment's hesitation a total of 22 men, including Sergeants Ye. Krechko and G. Nikitchenko and Privates O. Osmanov and V. Tazhiakhmetov, responded to the call for help. Today their blood is running in the veins of Armenian and Azerbaijani victims alike.

I had many meetings in Stepanakert and its suburbs. I asked this question of many local residents: What is their attitude toward what is happening in their part of the world? M. Kocharyan, S. Farzaliyev, E. Akhmedov, and others are unanimous: National dissension is madness. It serves the purpose of only those who would like to use it to promote their dark designs. My interlocutors spoke with understanding and gratitude about the measures being taken to impose order.

On my way back I passed a checkpoint where Senior Lieutenant V. Chebotarev was the senior officer in charge. He has been on duty for several days there.

"The situation is calm. Relations with local residents? Normal, friendly. They understand why we are here and what we are doing."

**Armenian Exile Meets Shevardnadze 1 Oct**
*PM0710113488 Paris LE FIGARO MAGAZINE in French 1 Oct 88 pp 92-95*

[Victor Loupan report: "Gorbachev Exiles Ayrikyan But Regrets It"]

[Text] Something incredible has just happened: The first person received by Mr Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister and CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, on his arrival in the United States on 21 September was Paruyr Ayrikyan, leader of the Armenian National Movement—he spent 18 years in a gulag!—who was forcibly expelled from the USSR just a few months ago.

"There were several hundred Armenians demonstrating outside the USSR Embassy in Washington, DC when Shevardnadze arrived," Paruyr Ayrikyan said. "Suddenly, three individuals came out of the embassy and told the American organizers of the demonstration that they wanted to meet with Mr Ayrikyan. That was the first surprise! I went to the entrance gate but refused to go in. Another individual, who was clearly more important than the first three, then came to me and told me that it was Minister Shevardnadze himself who wanted to see me, and that I could, if I wished, take two people with me. Two representatives of the U.S. Armenian community therefore accompanied me."

When told in this way the story seems almost normal. However, it is absolutely extraordinary: A world first has just taken place. And it is too soon to analyze it. Ayrikyan himself does not really understand the reason for this sudden gesture. If the Soviets wanted to make a conciliatory gesture toward the dissidents, for the benefit of Western opinion, they could have chosen somebody more "well-known" than him.... The situation in Soviet Armenia must be infinitely more serious than is being said.

"I started by greeting him in Georgian," (Mr Shevardnadze is Georgian—LE FIGARO MAGAZINE editor's note), P. Ayrikyan continued, "it apparently pleased him, and I asked him why emergency measures were being introduced in Armenia, and he told me: to protect the population.... That is ridiculous! It is in Azerbaijan that Armenians are being killed, and that their houses and churches are being burned. That is not happening in Yerevan! In Yerevan the demonstrations are peaceful."

Indeed, the latest reports show that it is the peaceful but political demonstrations which are worrying the Soviet authorities and not the massacre of Armenians by Azerbaijanis. The city of Yerevan is surrounded by special KGB forces, it is virtually impossible to enter the city by plane or train. In addition, the Yerevan police have apparently been disarmed, which is an extraordinary move. Why? Is it in preparation for military repression, in which case the Armenian police might side with the demonstrators?

His Fate Will Be Decided "At the Highest Level" [subhead]

Whatever the truth, the Ayrikyan-Shevardnadze meeting cannot be coincidental or a whim by the minister who was, we must remember, a top official, some say a general, in the KGB. This is particularly true because the Yerevan demonstrators are calling for Ayrikyan's return and want to elect him deputy, no less!

"I was really surprised," Ayrikyan continued, "when Shevardnadze told me that he thought I had come abroad at my own request! I reminded him that I was expelled in handcuffs, that I regard my expulsion as illegal, and that I am asking to return. He replied that my case will be examined at the highest level. I took that to mean by Gorbachev himself."

The Armenian movement is not linked to Gorbachevism proper. Ayrikyan and his friends were first imprisoned in the sixties, and have therefore been struggling for 30 years. The people's movement was launched by the recent pogroms in Azerbaijan. Should the progroms also be seen as a result of Gorbachevism? No. Each of the 15 nations of the USSR has its own developing Nagorno-Karabakh. Gorbachev and his supporters must find some way of dealing with the historical results of the actions taken by the regime of which they are the product and the heirs.

"When I told Shevardnadze that some of my Moscow friends, notably Grigoryants, were beginning to sense the end of democratization and to smell a familiar odor of

repression, he told me that the government has traveled so far along the road of glasnost and restructuring that the people would sweep it away if it backpedaled. That is interesting!"

**Editorial on Problems Raised at Armenian Plenum**
*PM0610110188 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 29 Sep 88 p 1*

[Editorial: "Following the Course of Restructuring and Social Renewal"]

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum that discussed the question "On party organizations' tasks in overcoming stagnation phenomena in the economy and the social sphere, and improving the ideological and moral atmosphere in the republic" took place, as S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Central Committee, noted in his report, "at a most difficult time for the republic. Trials and tribulations as have not been known for many decades have befallen the republic.... The crisis situation that has now become a painful reality has its roots in the past, in the period of seeming well-being and prosperity, when, year after year, we were awarded banners to the accompaniment of thunderous applause."

Yes, there were loud statements about production successes, there were gallant reports, compiled with much resourcefulness, about labor achievements, and there was the easily explainable but totally unjustifiable "competition for red banners." This ceremonial optimism, so characteristic of the period of stagnation, served as a cover for the failures and serious omissions of the republic party organization, and especially its Central Committee, in organizational and political work and in matters relating to production, ideology, and the social sphere. All this led to the most blatant violations of the principles of social justice, to such antisocial phenomena as embezzlement, bribe-taking, and favoritism. The republic failed to draw the appropriate conclusions from the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum, at which serious criticism was leveled at the Armenian party organization for the mistakes in its work.

This highly negative state of affairs was bound to have an adverse effect on the moral and political climate in the republic, and on the confidence of the broad masses in the party and economic leadership—that was duly manifested, to some extent, at the rallies and demonstrations in Armenia after the notorious events began in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum paid special attention to questions of improving the material and social position of the republic's working people and meeting their vital needs for housing, food products, consumer goods, consumer and medical services, and a wide range of cultural requirements. These problems were examined in the report and in the plenum participants' speeches with the utmost principledness and frankness, in light of the decisions and political directives of the 19th all-union party conference. An analysis of the situation, and the constructive criticism of shortcomings, have revealed that an extremely unsatisfactory situation has taken shape in our republic in the course of the past two 5-year plans; and that year after year party committees and republic ministries and departments failed to ensure the fulfillment of the Food Program and of the plans for the construction of housing and improvement of consumer services. The plenum condemned the callous attitude of republic party and soviet organs to people's vital needs and requirements. As a result of this, the republic's working people have failed to receive more than 12,000 apartments over the last 10 years, that is equivalent to the housing stock of a city like Charentsavan; over the last 2 and ½ years alone the population failed to receive R200 millions' worth of consumer goods; the Ministry of Consumer Services continues to cover more than half of the volume of services through the mass production of footwear, knitwear, and furniture; that is, it is doing other people's jobs. For how many years has this deception and the supplanting of real services by "services for statistical purposes" been discussed at aktivs, plenums, and conferences? Yet the opponents of restructuring continue to pursue their aims, deceiving the people and the government, supplanting real consumer services with sham services while waving the banners of "victors" in socialist competition. Our press has exposed the harmfulness of this kind of "industrialization" of services in the republic more than once. But the former leadership of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Gosplan, and the republic Council of Ministers shielded the consumer service managers from criticism—and it was unwilling to change things, and failed to adopt effective measures to rectify the situation in the consumer service sphere.

And what is the situation like in our trade? Customers are cheated in money and weight, wholesale bases and extortionate transport services rule supreme in the sphere of the distribution of food products and economic goods, and the collaboration between corrupt trade officials and embezzlers of socialist property at enterprises has reached major dimensions. The Central Committee plenum noted that as a result of this and other negative phenomena in trade, people have to use the "services" of speculators in order to obtain high-grade goods. In 1986 alone the republic's population bought R75 millions' worth of nonfood goods on the "black market." The middlemen's income from this trade totaled R15 million.

The human factor as a powerful means to stimulate labor productivity growth and improve the moral climate in society was examined and discussed at the plenum through the prism of a critical and detailed analysis of the phenomena of stagnation in the social sphere including health care, municipal transport, and environmental protection, and also in agriculture. As regards the latter,

it is primarily a question of ensuring the fulfillment of Food Program plans by kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and agro-industrial associations.

Comrade S.G. Arutyunyan's report and participants' contributions to the debate drew attention to serious failures and shortcomings in the work of the republic Gosagroprom and its subdivisions at local level that appear unable to rid themselves of the bureaucratic style of work and of old, obsolete methods of leadership of the agro-industrial complex based on the command-and-administrative pressure principle. The timid approach to the introduction of new contract and leasing forms of labor organization in agriculture, unwillingness or inability to actively accept and introduce in production progressive scientific findings relating to agricultural techniques and stockraising, formalism and a bias toward numerical indicators rather than the real end results of work—these are just some of the serious ailments and shortcomings that are preventing the leading components of the Gosagroprom to advance the republic's agriculture to front-ranking positions in the country.

From next year Armenian agriculture as a whole is switching to new production conditions—self-financing and full economic accountability. This switch, or rather the need for a revolutionary breakthrough in the countryside, is clearly being underestimated in our republic and preparations for it are advancing half-heartedly. The Gosagroprom, party raykoms, and rayon agro-industrial associations have failed to give any serious thought to the question "what is going to happen to our agro-industrial complex if more than half of our kolkhozes and sovkhozes are low-profit or even loss-making enterprises?" The Gosagroprom leadership and party committees must abandon rigid tutelage over, and administrative pressure on, labor collectives. It is necessary to give broad rights to farms so that they can independently resolve tasks and create conditions for the development of initiative and team, family, and leasing contracts in crop farming, and livestock raising, and the processing of agricultural produce.

The restructuring in agriculture has shown that the contract and leasing methods are the future of socialist agriculture, since highly productive labor in the countryside can only be guaranteed if workers have a material interest in it. Meanwhile the Food Program fulfillment indicators in the republic's agriculture, which is operating in the main along old lines, are not even modest. Here are some facts and figures from the report that furnished the plenum participants with much food for thought: "Per capita consumption of meat and meat products in the republic is 24 percent below the union average; and the consumption of whole-milk products totals only 50 percent of the prescribed nutritional norm." What is the explanation for this? The answer is that in our republic "one in four farms fails to fulfill the meat procurement plan, and milk yields per cow are approximately 30 percent below the union average. Livestock complexes and poultry farms are operating at only 60 percent of their capacity." And if one adds that the level of mechanization on livestock units is low, that sanitary conditions are poor, and that whole rayons are affected by brucellosis, then the overall picture of the situation in the agro-industrial sector of production cannot but cause serious concern. What is the way out of this extremely unenviable situation? "The shortest way out of this situation," the plenum noted, "lies through the introduction everywhere of the contract and leasing forms of work, changes in internal production relations within kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the creation of family livestock units, and the development of various forms of production sharing, agro-industrial combines, and agro-firms. It is necessary to proceed more boldly in eliminating inefficient farms and handing over their land and other means of production to collective and individual lessees who are capable of ensuring high returns."

However, the long list of our shortcomings in the production sphere, and hence also in the social sphere, is by no means exhausted with the lag in the agro-industrial sector. The plenum made an in-depth analysis of the very considerable disruptions in industrial production, transport, and the construction industry. The statistics speak for themselves: The average annual national income and labor productivity growth rate has decreased by factors of 2.4 and 2.1 respectively in the current 5-year plan in comparison with the previous one. And what is the explanation for the losses resulting from the production of substandard output, that increased by 27 percent over the last 2 years? What is the explanation for the fact that over the same period the economic return from the introduction of new machinery fell by R13 million while expenditure for this purpose increased by R238 million?

However, the most serious and impermissible development can be witnessed today in the sphere of contract commitments. As a result of bad labor organization, violations of labor and technological discipline, and very poor organizational and political-educational work by party committees and organizations in labor collectives our republic occupies the last place in the country as regards contract deliveries. Failure to fulfill delivery plans and contract commitments is disrupting the smooth operation of many enterprises in fraternal republics and affecting the interests of their labor collectives. Thus we are destroying the prestige of our republic, we are destroying our national prestige vis-a-vis the whole country. This highly negative process has now been exacerbated by the frequent stoppages at enterprises caused by rallies and strikes.

It is quite true, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum took place at a very difficult time for the republic. This circumstance made it incumbent on its participants to conduct an honest and frank discussion and make an uncompromising assessment of the current political state of affairs. The crisis situation, it was noted at the plenum, that has become a painful reality today, has its roots in the past, in the period of seeming

well-being and prosperity. Deformations took place in the internal life of the party and the Bolshevik traditions of the republic party organizations were slowly eroded. A devaluation of socialist values set in among a certain section of the population, and consumerist tendencies gathered strength. General dissatisfaction increased everywhere. This is a very harsh assessment of the sociopolitical situation that has taken shape in the republic. Harsh but correct.

The CPSU Central Committee has repeatedly drawn the attention of the republic's Communists to serious mistakes and shortcomings in political and ideological work. Comrade M.S. Gorbachev said at the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum that in our republic "...there is evidence of totally unjustifiable complacency, lack of proper exactingness toward cadres, and absence of an effective struggle against bribe-taking, speculation, and favoritism. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee must make an in-depth analysis of the situation in both the party and the republic, examine it from principled positions, and embark on restructuring—a restructuring through actions rather than words." It ought to be said that the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum that has just been held analyzed the work of the republic party organization from precisely these principled positions and noted self-critically that even after the aforementioned criticism no breakthrough was achieved in the work of the republic party organization. Speakers in the debate sharply criticized the cadre policy of Comrade Demirchyan, former Central Committee first secretary, noting the complete absence of glasnost in the selection and placement of cadres. The question of a radical restructuring of law enforcement organs' work, where cases of covering up crimes, extortion, and bribe-taking have taken place, was raised as a matter of urgency. Over the last 3 years alone criminal proceedings were instituted against, and sentences passed on, 50 internal affairs organ staffers.

Glasnost and the restructuring of all aspects of our society's life have become the main conditions of our future progress. An important role in this revolutionary process belongs to our creative and scientific intelligentsia, the Komsomol, trade unions, and public organizations. The Communists and Komsomol members who are working here must act as pioneers in the struggle for the radical improvement of the ideological and moral atmosphere in the republic. We must not forget that in our republic too there are quite a few people who lead a spiritually arid life, whose one aim in life is the achievement of material well-being at any price. It is they who poison society with the ideology of consumerism, it is they who contaminate it with spiritual aridity. And it is this section of people on whom the antirestructuring forces that do not like the CPSU's course toward democratization and glasnost, toward the improvement of the economy and the social sphere rely for support.

There also are antirestructuring forces in our republic. It is they, as was noted at the plenum, "who, hiding behind high-sounding phrases and playing on people's noble sentiments...are trying to drive a wedge into our ranks and throw the republic into chaos." There are quite a few of them also among those who organize rallies on Yerevan's squares, invite people to strike, try to disrupt the work of municipal transport, trade, and the service sphere, and destabilize the situation. The healthy forces are alarmed at the state of affairs in the republic and are truly concerned for the fate of the Armenian people and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee is calling on us all to rally in order to resolve the vitally important questions that are confronting the republic with the utmost urgency, to tackle the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh soberly and sensibly with a view to forestalling senseless harmful actions and taking careful account of current and future political and socioeconomic realities.

The Central Committee plenum noted that a question that is currently being raised by public circles deserves attention, namely the question of establishing a society that would promote the party course toward restructuring, democratization, and glasnost. This society could engage in patriotic and enlightenment activities—the study and popularization of the Armenian people's cultural heritage, the development of Armenian studies, the elimination of "blank spots" in our history, the development of the Armenian language and the fostering of national-and-Russian biligualism, the strengthening of ties with our compatriots in the country and abroad, and the solution of ecological problems.

When assessing the work of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum today, it must be noted that it accorded with the spirit of the 19th all-union party conference—its participants embarked boldly on a critical review of the state of our affairs and declared their determination to wage an uncompromising struggle against the negative phenomena in our society, enhance the effectiveness of party-political and ideological work, and consistently translate into reality the party's course toward restructuring, the democratization of our society's foundations, and the enhancement of the working people's well-being.

### Georgians Protest Azerbaijani 'Discrimination'

*AU0710074388 Paris AFP in English 0458 GMT 7 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow, Oct 7 (AFP)—More than 1,000 Soviet Georgians protested Thursday at Ordzhonikidze against alleged discrimination by Azeris, a protester said.

Demonstrators called for the resignation of the Communist Party first secretary there, who could speak no Georgian, they said.

The Azeris make up 90 per cent of the population in the southern corner of Georgia that borders Azerbaijan and Armenia.

According to widespread rumours at the university in the Georgian capital Tbilisi, Azeri students were demanding that the Georgian region to the south of Margeuli should be integrated into Azerbaijan, as nearly 90 per cent of the population was Azeri.

There was a similar demonstration Wednesday in Margeuli, some 30 miles to the south of Tbilisi.

### Organizational, Economic Changes in Ukraine

*PM0610143788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1*

[Own correspondent S. Tsikora report under rubric "In the Republic Governments": "Cuts for the Good of the Cause"]

[Text] Kiev—The transition to economic methods of national economic management has demanded a serious restructuring of the structure of the management apparatus in the republics.

Here is how the picture of these transformations in the Ukraine looks this fall. To date, I was told by the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, nine union republic and republic ministries and departments in the Ukraine have been abolished, 54 industrial associations eliminated, and more than 300 other middle-level sectorial organs likewise eliminated.

The number of people working in republican management organs will be halved as a result of the introduction of new management schemes. It must be pointed out that the cuts are not being made just for the sake of it—the functions of the republic's economic organs are changing. Their activity is being redirected toward the in-depth study of comprehensive problems and the solution of intersectoral tasks.

The activity of scientific organizations in the Ukraine is also being restructured. Twenty-six new science and production associations have been created, as well as 248 production, trade and production, planning-industrial-construction, and a whole series of other associations. Measures are being taken to streamline the network of scientific and planning organizations.

Finally, the elaboration of national economic management schemes for the oblasts is being completed. Great importance is attached to enhancing the role of local soviets in managing economic and sociocultural building in the relevant territory. Main planning and economic administrations are being set up in each oblast and the city of Kiev to coordinate this work.

### Ukrainian Supreme Soviet To Meet 11 Nov

*AU0710095988 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 2 Oct 88 p 1*

["A Decree of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves to convene the ninth session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation on 11 November in the city of Kiev.

[Signed] V. Shevchenko, chairman, and N. Khomenko, secretary of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

City of Kiev, 29 September 1988

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium informs that the following issues have been envisaged for deliberation at the ninth session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation:

1. The 1989 state plan for the economic and social development of the Ukrainian SSR, and the progress made in implementing the 1988 state plan for the economic and social development of the Ukrainian SSR.

2. The 1989 state budget of the Ukrainian SSR, and a report on the implementation of the 1987 state budget of the Ukrainian SSR.

3. A report by the Ukrainian SSR procurator on the state of protecting the interests of the state and the civil rights of the citizens, and on the consolidation of legality and public order in the republic.

4. Approving the decrees of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

### Railway Vice Minister on Sverdlovsk Accident

*LD0610180988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Here is a report from our correspondent on the cleanup in the aftermath of the explosion at the Sverdlovsk railroad yards.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent E. Erkomayshvili, identified by caption] On this site there was a deep crater 45 meters in diameter; 18 hours later the movement of trains was restored here. According to information received today, 5 people were killed, 104 were taken to hospitals, and over 2,000 were deprived of a roof over their heads. Also, 15 schools, 7 hospitals, and shops and industrial buildings were damaged. All measures are being taken in the town to rebuild what has been destroyed and to help those affected.

[F.M. Fadeyev, USSR first deputy minister of railways, identified by caption] Some 350 apartments have been prepared in new blocks and had just been opened the day before this incident. Families who have been made homeless have been resettled in them. Many families are being temporarily resettled in hotels today and they will later be moved to more permanent accomodations. Material assistance of R400 to R1,000 is being given to everyone. Free meals have been given to all who are involved in the restoration work and to families that have found themselves in this situation.

The investigation has not been completed yet, but even now, after the commission's check on the facts regarding a violation of the safety rules during shunting work involving dangerous cargoes, it was revealed that on the Sverdlovsk railway and, in particular, at the Sverdlovsk railroad yards, no measures had been taken and decisions which had been adopted by the ministry following the Arzamas incident were not fulfilled.

Of course, in any case, the discipline and responsibility, chiefly of the railwaymen themselves, must be increased. But it has to be said now that this open rolling stock has been prepared for the transportation of, say, grain, foodstuffs, and industrial commodities, and we are compelled, due to the lack of special rolling stock for these cargoes, to transport dangerous cargoes in this open rolling stock.

I must emphasize that in the majority of foreign countries the transportation of such cargoes is carried out in cars—rolling stock—which are specially constructed for this and which are specially durable to protect the cargoes from any possibility of a collision with other rolling stock. We do not have rolling stock like that yet. We have worked out decisions and proposals for constructing such rolling stock. [video shows Fadeyev being interviewed by trackside]

[Erkomayshvili] Urgent measures are necessary, there is no doubt about that. And yet, why is it that we cope better with emergency situations and disasters than we do with everyday work and our ordinary jobs, when negligence, indiscipline, and incompetence leads to such tragedies? [end recording]

## Lessons of Stalin Era, Restructuring Viewed

*PM0610131988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Oct 88 Second Edition p 3*

[Second part of article by senior scientific staffer G. Bordyugov and sector chief V. Kozlov of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, under the editorship of Academician G.L. Smirnov: "A Time of Difficult Questions: The History of the Twenties and Thirties and Contemporary Social Thinking"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The article by senior scientific staffer G. Bordyugov and sector chief V. Kozlov of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the first part of which was published in PRAVDA on 30 September this year, examines certain contentious and highly topical questions of the history of the twenties and thirties. Today we publish the conclusion of the article.

The item is published under the editorship of Academician G.L. Smirnov.

Emergency Measures as "Litmus Paper" [subhead]

The crisis of the "classical" NEP [New Economic Policy], which was discussed in the first part of the article, was, in our opinion, the result of an error in assessing the socioeconomic situation in 1925. This crisis did not by any means signify that the potential of the NEP as a long-term party policy was exhausted. But the initial error in assessing the potential of the individual peasant farm as regards meeting the needs of accelerated industrialization led to an exacerbation of tension which forced a recourse to emergency measures—first as a response to particular situations, and then, under direct pressure from Stalin himself, systematically. The majority of the Central Committee faced a very serious choice: on the one hand, emergency measures, and on the other, the preservation of democratic traditions. Yes, the wrong choice was made. And we do not yet understand what dictated that choice.

What, in fact, was the nature of the alternative available to the party? Was it a path geared to the competent manager, the individual farmer's path of development of agriculture? This view of these problems is not to be found in Bukharin, Rykov, or Tomskiy. Production cooperativization was a task whose significance they understood. The question of time scales was another matter, the question of what should be the mainstay of the country's development at a given moment—small-scale peasant farming and the continuing orientation primarily toward that form, or else orientation toward the accelerated "imposition" of kolkhozes. During the years 1928-1929 there was a gradual rapprochement between the position of Bukharin's group and the position of the Central Committee majority, which supported Stalin at that time. (It should be noted that this majority was not made up solely of those who held their position in the party and the Central Committee thanks to the system controlled by Stalin and the party apparatus that was created by him, and depended entirely on the general secretary's will.) The rapprochement in their positions was manifested in the fact that by November 1929 Bukharin, Rykov, and Tomskiy acknowledged both the necessity for an accelerated pace of industrialization, and the kolkhozes as the "main highway to socialism," and the emphasis on comprehensive mass collectivization.

The only disagreement remaining between the Bukharin group and Stalin's supporters was the attitude to the question of emergency, coercive, administrative measures in grain procurement, the formation of kolkhozes,

and dekulakization. The vacillations in the party leadership were comparatively significant. It was no accident that the Central Committee July (1928) Plenum in effect reflected the view of the Bukharin group, and not Stalin, on emergency measrues. At the same time the idea was expressed at the plenum that emergency measures spring from the party's policy itself, that they are justified and necessary. In principle, the Bukharin group did not reject the possibility of the occasional imposition of emergency measures. But they were categorically opposed to the idea of turning emergency measures into a system, and in this respect they were consistent champions of Lenin's ideas. For Stalin, however—and this was a gross deviation from Leninism and indeed from Marxism in general—emergency measures were elevated into a system and coercion into the chief method of forming kolkhozes.

By supporting Stalin on the question of emergency measures and rejecting Bukharin's concept that emergency measures cannot form a system, that is, a permanent method of influencing social processes, the Central Committee members were in effect laying the foundations for the drama that was to erupt in the late twenties and early thirties and again in 1937-1938.

The elevation of emergency measures into a system caused the executive and punitive bodies to hypertrophy and escape from the party's control. Stalin, in turn, in the "emergency" conditions, gained far greater freedom of operation as Central Committee general secretary. As a result the Central Committee members had put themselves in a very difficult position. The battlefield on which they could resist Stalin's methods became extremely small. Having once embarked on the path of emergency measures as a system, the Central Committee majority, knocked together by Stalin and supporting him, was forced to go further and further along that path. And when in January 1933 Kaganovich, speaking at a joint plenum of the Central Committee and Central Executive Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), said: We are not shooting enough people, and called for the stepping up of repressions that were already harsh, this monstrous call did not result in any open objections in general from any of the Central Committee members. Although obviously it took considerable courage to voice objections to Stalin and his closest assistants.

The "theory" that the class struggle is exacerbated as socialism's successes continue, which at first was rejected categorically by the Bukharin group, was now winning more and more nominal supporters in the Central Committee, thereby increasing the support for Stalin. The Central Committee members failed to extract a grain of sense from the position put forward by Bukharin and his supporters and did not consider seriously the measures he proposed for strengthening the revolutionary rule of law and order. Stalin's personal interest was not in itself enough to ensure that the occasional use of emergency measures in the late twenties and early thirties would become a regular system for the management of the state. At that time he had to obtain a vote of confidence from the Central Committee, which had collective responsibility for the decisions adopted.

And the Central Committee members went along with it. Certainly they were prompted to do so by the urgent situation. But this situation was also superimposed on an alarmist, highly sensitive perception of reality, on a particular type of revolutionary thinking. Many representatives of the communist vanguard had a specific attitude toward the law and the civilian society. Even Rykov, speaking at a Central Committee plenum in 1928 to examine the "Shakhty case," said, for instance, on the subject of the arrest of German experts, that the party should regard the various trials as subject to policy matters and not be guided by the abstract principle of punishing the culprits fairly, and that the question of arrests should be approached not so much from the viewpoint of the interests of our criminal practice or the principle of "justice," as from the viewpoint of our "big politics."

This perception of social reality was probably itself an inevitable product of acute class conflicts and a reflection of the individual and collective experience of the Communists, derived from the era of underground activity, revolution, and civil war. In the late twenties there were in effect gross deformations of this type of thinking, in the direction of petit bourgeois revolutionism. Sensing that the party was crossing some crucial boundary in its practical activity, Bukharin, Rykov, and Tomskiy came out against this trend. At first there was also some resistance from the middle party level and the middle and lower level of judicial organs, the prosecution service, and so forth.

Resistance took the form of more restrained practice in applying emergency grain procurement measures and of coming out against the methods that eventually led to the famine of 1933. In 40 percent of cases involving violations of the very harsh legislation on the protection of socialist property, local judicial workers meted out to offenders a punishment that was below the lower limit, that is, less than 10 years. This showed that they were in fact guided by the norms of revolutionary morality. Kaganovich, reporting on these cases at a Central Committee plenum in January 1933, cited the example of a judge who had stated that he could not bring himself to hand out a sentence of 10 years for the theft of four cart wheels. Sharply criticizing this "fallacious" principle on the part of local workers, Kaganovich called for the fulfillment of party and government resolutions, not the laws. This too failed to prompt objections from the plenum participants, and the same was true of the demand for a purge of the lowest judicial tier.

The struggle between the two trends continued in the party. The supporters of the "soft" line in party leadership of the country were probably still substantially

influenced by Bukharin's views, with his constant orientation toward the normal economic and political life of society. It is noteworthy that at the January (1933) joint plenum of the Central Committee and Central Executive Committee several participants expressed approval of Bukharin. They expressed confidence in him and observed that he has overcome his errors, and is, most importantly, oriented toward the future and toward the quest for the economic management mechanism that should be brought into action after the emergency period.

It is well known that in May 1934 Bukharin published the article "The Economy of the Soviet Land" in IZVESTIYA. Bukharin's article contains the implicit idea of the creation of a socialist market, the idea that it is necessary to bring into play material incentives that could operate through the Soviet trade mechanism. Accepting that there had been a leap into a new phase of socialist building and that a fundamentally different socioeconomic situation had emerged, Bukharin believed that that situation required normalization and a quest for levers to promote the normal, tranquil development of society.

These ideas could not fail to find support in certain party circles. And it was no accident that Stalin, seeing the danger inherent in them, deemed it necessary, addressing the Politburo members, to make special observations, basically amounting to an unsupported rejection of the basic ideas in Bukharin's article. The polemical method chosen by Stalin indicates his fear of making these polemics public [glasnyy]. At first glance it appeared that the new dispute was purely theoretical in nature. But in fact it still concerned the same thing: Whether it is possible to establish normal, stable relations between city and countryside, or whether the inability to control the situation will continue to be compensated for by coercion.

There Was Resistance to Stalinism... [subhead]

The period from January 1933 through February-March 1937 was a very unusual period in the history of the party and country. It could be said to contain to some extent the secrets of subsequent history. Here we must remember Stalin's phrase, contained in the decisions of the February-March plenum of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee in 1937: "The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs [NKVD] is at least 4 years late in exposing the...worst enemies of the people." Those 4 years were the period 1933-1937.

Why was this plenum resolution on the work of the NKVD necessary? It can be assumed that since January 1933, when the concept of sabotage as the explanation for all the difficulties in socialist building—a concept put forward back in the late twenties—had become highly developed, various deviations and even resistance had taken shape in the practical implementation of that policy over the next 4 years. What forms this resistance took have yet to be clarified. It is obvious, however, that it was not directly aimed at Stalin. It was covert resistance to the excessive growth of coercion. In public policy, however, the leader's praises were still sung.

It seems to us that in 1933-1934 the turn to emergency measures and their elevation into a system began to take the form of a kind of "dual power" locally. This applies particularly to the countryside. On the one hand, the MTS [Machine and Tractor Station] political departments were being set up (one of the political department's deputy chiefs was an OGPU [Joint State Political Directorate] worker), and on the other, the party raykoms already existed. Friction arose constantly between them. This was basically friction between emergency organs and the ordinary, regular organs. Similarly complex relationships were established between Central Committee party organs at plants and party gorkoms and raykoms, where, again, a structure was taking shape in patent violation of the usual order. By the end of 1934 many Central Committee members, from the example of the political departments, recognized the insufficient effectiveness of the "emergency system." It led to the concentration of economic and political functions on very narrowly defined, short-term tasks and made it impossible to grasp the situation as a whole and ensure correct leadership over developments throughout the territory.

At the level of oblasts, krays, and republics, there was also a system of punitive organs tackling, among other things, the resolution of economic tasks by means of the "removal of saboteurs" and so forth, and this system existed in parallel with the obkoms, kraykoms, and Central Committees, which had to manage the overall situation and could not rely entirely on the "emergency system." An abnormal situation developed in the management of public affairs. Neither the emergency organs nor the raykoms and obkoms could be fully autonomous in analyzing and tackling socioeconomic problems. Friction arose. Things were reaching the stage where, logically, it would be necessary to abolish the system of existing party organs and rely entirely on the emergency organs. But that would mean losing control of a number of very important spheres of social life. But eliminating the emergency organs, when the course of resolving tasks through "exposing saboteurs" had been set, meant abandoning that very course.

An opportunity for a certain change in policy on the basis of the curtailment of the MTS political departments as emergency organs in the countryside was inherent in the decisions of the Central Committee November (1934) Plenum. If "dual power" was abolished in the countryside and party raykoms "prevailed" over the MTS political departments, then they would thereby also "prevail" over the system of emergency organs that were outside their control. Thus the party was trying to confine the "emergency system" within certain limits. In

any event, it may be assumed that at the end of 1934 the moderate line in the party leadership had some support at the Central Committee plenum.

A decision was also adopted on setting up a commission to draft a new constitution, which is evidence of the orientation toward the formation of a rule-of-law society in which emergency measures as a system would find no place. But here we find a historical paradox—the democratic constitution adopted in December 1936 was basically destroyed by the emergency measures, and many of its provisions were not put into practice. So why and for what purpose was it drawn up? Not everything can be attributed exclusively to Stalin's deviousness and hypocrisy. In all probability the actual decision to draft the constitution was connected with the strengthening of the moderate line in the party leadership at that time.

At the same time Stalin was maneuvering with a view to reorienting the party committees at all levels toward emergency measures and imposing on them the ideology of the "emergency system," that is, the very thing they were passively resisting. This process of "switching over" took place in the mid-thirties. This turn of events could hardly have been expected by the supporters of a moderate policy who advocated the abolition of the MTS political departments. But apparently the hopes of Stalin and his entourage for a rapid reorientation of the party committees were not justified, either. So then the question became even more acute: Are the right cadres in place? That was entirely in the spirit of the times. Very often, complex situations were explained away by saying that the cadres had been chosen and appointed wrongly, and that if different cadres were put in matters would improve without fail.

As a result of the "shift" in power toward the party organs, they obtained far greater power locally. The degree of control from above became less, and freedom of action became wider. Against this background the problem of parochialism inevitably arose. The trend toward channeling all resources, forces, and efforts into the resolution of a few priority tasks could not help but come into conflict with local interests. This contradiction could have been removed by seeking some measure of combination of management and economic interests. But they failed to create the optimum mechanism. Parochialism increased, and in political terms it took the form of local "cults" and "cultists," of which a number of leaders were to be accused later, at the February-March 1937 All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee Plenum.

But there is another side to this. We believe the decisions of the plenum itself and the subsequent orgy of repressions could be regarded as a criminal attempt by Stalin to finally establish his personal diktat, by exploiting the contradictions that really did exist between the "apparatus" and the masses and between local interests and central interests and resolving them "once and for all" by means of imposing blind subordination and suppressing all autonomy.

The crucial act in the tragedy of the party and people had begun even earlier, in late 1934, after the murder of S.M. Kirov. Once again there was a revival of the "emergency system," which had just been restricted by the Central Committee November plenum; former opposition figures were subjected to reprisals, mass arrests took place, death sentences were carried out rapidly, and, in a word, the line of emergency measures began to be toughened drastically. By the beginning of 1937 there had been a drastic increase in the powers of the emergency organs (special conferences and so forth), and the party had lost control of them. Nonetheless the last isolated instances of resistance and struggle were still encountered at the February-March 1937 Central Committee Plenum. Basically it was after this plenum that the large-scale elimination of party cadres began. The start of the mass repressions should probably be regarded as connected with the fact that Stalin decided to take reprisals against Central Committee members and middle and lower level leaders, many of whom (mainly only implicitly) had resisted the emergency system and advocated the normalization of society. Despite being former supporters of the hard line and supporters of Stalin, they could not accept in full the system that was taking shape. Therefore their fate was decided, they were removed from the leadership, and the majority of them were subjected to repressions.

Stalin managed to create a very unusual kind of administrative system. A "normal" administrative system, while formally exalting the leader (as was the case, for instance, with Brezhnev), in fact subordinates the leader to itself. A system of this kind has no dynamism and leads to stagnation. Stalin, however, was oriented toward dynamism and a rapid pace, and that cannot be taken away from him. In order to whip up and spur on the administrative system, he had to keep the apparatus under constant pressure not only from above, but also from below. The constant appeals for the masses to expose the double-dealers and Trotskiyists in the leading sphere were a distorted form of such "control" in the thirties.

The paradox of the situation, in our view, was that very frequently Stalin and his supporters, like Zhdanov, for instance, called for more democratization of intraparty life and the abandonment of the practice of coopting and appointing officials and of excessive organization in the holding of elections to the party's leading bodies. In practice, however, it was easier, under the banner of democratization of intraparty life, to replace old leaders in the localities with new people who would follow instructions from above without demur and not engage in "autonomous activity."

Stalin was unable to orient himself toward the masses, Lenin-style, because that presupposed the development of democratic mechanisms and a kind of control from below that would preclude an individual power regime [lichnyy rezhim vlasti]. He appealed to the masses with a different aim—that of creating the conditions necessary

to replace a leadership that had served its time, so that the new leaders, rapidly mastering the situation, would ensure a new leap forward. That is a purely Stalinist model for ensuring the dynamism of economic growth, and has nothing in common with Leninist ideas. In fact this model, even if abstracted from its inhuman character, was in any case economically unsound. It was constantly creating paralysis in society.

Obviously the process of elimination of cadres got out of control and the number of victims became many times greater than the level that was necessary, if we can put it that way, to Stalin personally. In the system that he created within the society that grew up over those years, the imposition of an atmosphere of terror was, of course, an essential component, but the scale of the terror and its cruelty paralyzed people's will and led to moral degradation. The replacement of cadres, taking on the nature of mass repressions, led to a situation were many leaders stopped thinking, because they were oriented solely toward higher levels.

The spontaneous wave of repressive processes—the result of Stalin's approach to overcoming disagreements in the party leadership and dissidence in society—made it impossible to manage the party and country in a normal way. Stalin evidently realized that. And therefore from time to time, on an initiative of his that was made known without fail to the masses, there were "retreats" of a kind, and new illusions were instilled in people's minds: The wave of repressions has ended, all the enemies have been eliminated, and you can work normally. Without this, Stalin and the model he created could not have operated. It was not merely hypocrisy on his part, but a deliberate political maneuver.

Whose Class Interests Did Stalin Express? [subhead]

The problem of Stalin's usurpation of power has been addressed in various forms of late by our journalists, on occasions in highly extravagant forms. We will not deal with the whole range of opinions on this issue, but we will say that the actual statement of the problem brings us back to the fundamental Marxist-Leninist ideas about the sociology of power and the danger of government or individual usurpation of class supremacy, and raises the understanding of the political history of Soviet society to a new level. The concrete history of the struggle for power in the twenties and thirties is also being actively elaborated. A good pile of questions has already accumulated. First of all, does the nature of the actual system change as a result of the usurpation of power? Can it be said that the Stalin regime did not express the interests of the working class? Our social thinkers are seeking answers to these questions today.

In the early years of Soviet power the situation arose where the soviets, as Lenin said, were bodies "for working people," but not "via working people." The actual level of civilization and culture of workers and peasants set limits on democracy. A certain, and in some situations very considerable, limitation of democracy (for example, nonproportional representation of workers and peasants in the supreme organs of Soviet power, deprivation of electoral rights on class grounds, and so on, as laid down in the 1918 RSFSR Constitution) was inevitable and necessary at the time. Lenin believed that that type of state would gradually wither away. But Stalin was for all-embracing state control in all spheres of life, including the family.

The actual mechanism for the functioning of power in a small-peasant country building socialism alone was accompanied by an inevitable concentration of all the levers of control in the hands of the Central Committee and Politburo. The old party guard also obviously had a special part to play in the power mechanism. In the early twenties V.I. Lenin, when talking about the democratization of our political system, the strengthening of the rule of law, and involvement of representatives of the working class cadre nucleus in the activities of leading party bodies, never once raised the question of transferring to the broad mass strata the authority of the old guard in terms of adopting particular principled decisions and elaborating party policy. It was a matter of preserving the unity of this "paper-thin stratum" in order to ensure the party's proletarian policy. This was due to the mighty pressure exerted on the party by the petty bourgeois element that was capable of distorting party policy. Thus there existed a specific way of implementing the class supremacy of the working class.

In the twenties, following Lenin's death, the debate in the Politburo and Central Committee, bedeviled by the power struggle, became very fierce. And in this debate the majority invariably came out in favor of Stalin in the end. Why? The split in the old guard and its ideological differences, which were no longer being overcome in Leninist fashion, within the framework of intraparty democracy, gave Stalin the opportunity to maneuver and keep his post, despite the fact that the opposition constantly criticized him, quite rightly sometimes. The personal element intruded into the ideological struggle all the time. The sphere of action of the collective leadership system, created by Lenin, was becoming narrower and narrower. In the mounting ferocity of the ideological struggle and power struggle the majority were unable to hold their Leninist positions and resorted to different methods of resolving differences—removing opponents from active political life. The deep differences between members of the Politburo placed Stalin as general secretary in a special position. Having subordinated the elaboration of political decisions to the power struggle, Stalin was able, as a result of this position, to secure a constant majority in the Central Committee.

The Central Committee majority which took shape in the late twenties and supported Stalin for reasons of principle (Ordzhonikidze, Rudzutak, and others) essentially decided party policy. A definite "pyramid" of responsibility and authority took shape in the actual

party structure, with power concentrated at the very top. And Stalin usurped this power from the paper-thin stratum to which the working class had, as it were, delegated the right to make principled decisions. Moreover, this stratum was subsequently physically destroyed. Probably one can say that Stalin usurped the leading party bodies' right to represent the interests of the party and the working class.

Note that Lenin was not shocked even by the possibility of the dictatorship of the revolutionary class being expressed through the dictatorship of individuals. But Bukharin's idea (given a certain set of conditions class supremacy can be expressed in an individual regime) caused Lenin to make the following remark: True, but the words "individual regime" have connotations. Unfortunately, Stalin's individual regime was ambiguous, to put it mildly. The officially declared aims of Stalinist policy (accelerated development of heavy industry, transformation of production relations in the countryside) per se did not contradict working class interests. For that reason his concept of accelerated industrialization met with such support in the working class, in the party, and in the Central Committee. But Stalin's methods of attaining historically progressive goals were not in the interests of the working class. The "architect's" defective methods distorted the edifice and led to a deviation from the original plan, from the socialist ideal.

Many writers draw attention to the fact that the young working class carried with it its own peasant past and petty bourgeois prejudices and delusions. And, in his choice of methods, Stalin very often reflected the views of that very part of the working class—to be more precise, the bad side of the "nature" of its numerous new strata, in which the numerically small industrial nucleus of the old stock had dissolved. Instead of somehow altering the whole gamut of feelings and interests of the various strata of the working class and directing them into the correct channel, Stalin was often the prisoner, the slave of these feelings. To a considerable extent this was the case even in the twenties, when his positions changed according to whatever method he could use to secure his majority.

In a sense it can be said that Stalin with his ideas of socialism was a product of these backward, leftover, old ideas. Not only did he fashion mass notions of the leader, but the mass of new workers themselves fashioned the leader. The leftist impatience and the desire to resolve all problems at a stroke were products of this mass. The attempts by the old party guard to keep the political line within the bounds of the aspirations and traditions of the industrial, cadre nucleus of the working class failed. The principle of delegating decisionmaking authority "upward" was already taking shape among the young working class. This situation initially established very convenient conditions for the usurpation of power by a rather narrow stratum or "leader." Lenin knew this. But he was seeking to develop the working class' best features in order to transform it into the truly worthy vehicle for a socialist future. Lenin thought of democracy as an education in civilized behavior and relied on the desire of advanced strata of the working class to manage, to create new forms of life. It cannot be said that Stalin ignored the best aspects of the working class. He sought to use them in the transformation of the country. But Stalin's individual regime, as a special form of organization of political power, was the product of other trends that also existed in the young working class—the yen for authoritarianism, and the mentality of the "ill-workerized peasant" (L. Reysner's term).

What lessons can now be learned from the historical experience of the twenties and thirties? First of all, perhaps, one should be aware that in its development society goes through periods which can be called "crisis points." It is a period of maximum concentration of all the contradictions, the contradictions of a particular system, of management and administration of society. A period when a switch to a new type of movement is possible and necessary. A period when a historic choice is made. The experience of the twenties and thirties shows that very often these "crisis points" were simply not noticed. They were overlooked unless they were accompanied by serious crisis phenomena. Very often there was no anticipation by theory, which would have made it possible to register the moment of crisis from very definite socioeconomic, sociopsychological, and political symptoms.

In 1925 many figures of that period tried to express a feeling of crisis. But this feeling of crisis took the form of a rather simple decision. Yes, the party set a course for industrialization. But the decision should and could have been more systematic, in order to be able to rely in the implementation of this course on the development of production cooperatives, at least in grain farming. This did not happen. So a real chance to ensure a smoother transformation of NEP, its transfer to a higher, cooperative phase, was missed.

The end of the twenties, the final period of the struggle against the Bukharin group, can also be considered a "crisis point" in Soviet history. At that critical moment it was still possible to stop and realize that in no circumstances must emergency measures be elevated to the status of a regular system, a system that runs society. But when they opted for the "emergency system" this established the basic prerequisite for subsequent distortions during the collectivization period and for mass repression.

Very likely the country went through a crisis period in 1934 as well. It was during that period that Stalin's view of the further development of society was established. It is true that there appeared in IZVESTIYA the above-mentioned article by Bukharin in which he set about understanding the economic accountability foundations of socialism, but the actual situation in the party was no longer conducive to a broad creative effort and bold

airing of issues. Nevertheless the trend toward a more balanced policy was making headway. But the forces seeking to conduct a sober, balanced policy were no longer able to seriously raise the question of Stalin's mistakes, of his removal from the post of general secretary.

In the past, when assessing a situation, they very often blindly followed previous models, although the models were already dangerous dogma. Not every "crisis point" was accompanied by a change in the direction of our party policy. Experience shows that whenever a chance of a timely change of direction was missed, the party and country were eventually drawn into this change of direction by crisis phenomena, or "through the gates of emergency measures." This is directly evidenced by 1929.

So, if at a critical moment, a turning-point, a historically overdue problem is not addressed by practical policy, if one continues to act in the old way, contradictions will inevitably get worse, and the process which philosophy calls self-resolving contradictions will start. Then spontaneous processes increase and it becomes harder and harder to handle the consequences. The cost of subsequent transformations will dramatically increase, because it will be necessary to escape from an unfavorable position and tackle problems which could have been solved some years ago at much less cost. But when we have been in a difficult situation, a crisis or precrisis condition, there has often been a desire to resolve all problems through coercion, administrative pressure, and so forth. Of course, the law of history still wins through. But the longer it takes to react, the greater the temptation to compensate for the weakness of the actual program of future progress by means of coercion and willful behavior and the greater the damage.

One way or another, today's historical discussion comes down to the problem of guarantees—guarantees of the irreversibility of the changes. Many people see the guarantees problem as, so to speak, a political organization problem, thinking that all you have to do is set certain mechanisms in motion and they will operate almost automatically. But the problem is a sociopolitical one. It is down to people, their culture, refinement, civic dignity, and self-awareness. It is directly connected with the economic foundations that determine a particular political regime and political form.

Here, of course, it is very important to understand the dialectics of interaction between the socioeconomic development of society, the political system that corresponds to it, and people. We now know more about how the administrative-edict system develops and where it comes from. In view of this we are seeking to foster real forces in society that will draw restructuring along after them. We know that unless the working class and peasantry are tied to restructuring socioeconomically, what happened to NEP, when the main guarantee did not work, could happen again. The decisions of the 19th party conference, geared to bringing Soviet society's political structure in line with the fundamental goals of restructuring, not only give us hope, but also a theoretically substantiated confidence that the tragic fate that befell NEP will not befall our restructuring. The political system in the thirties really could have been different; the birth of Stalin's individual regime and, in particular, the mass repression could have been avoided. But we also have to acknowledge something else. It is clear that our society at the time was not sophisticated enough to be able to counter the phenomena and provide an effective democratic counterweight. It was not only workers and peasants, but the stratum of Communists governing the country who lacked culture, to use Lenin's words.

The answer to today's question about the future of restructuring is also provided by Lenin: "Success is ensured if you have enough of it. Enough of what? Culture!!!" This culture by no means implies merely that the entire population of the country should have evidence of having completed secondary education; it implies above all the habits of real democracy and a humane attitude toward life and toward people. It can only be formed as a result of the masses' actual involvement in the elaboration of fundamental political decisions, in the day-to-day management of production and the running of society's affairs.

## Agricultural

### Press Reports Farm Output Through 5 October

PM0610161388 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 October 1988 Morning Edition carries on page 1 under the headline "The Fall Will Make No Allowances" a 1,100-word V. Gavrichkin agricultural review which cites the following report from the USSR State Committee for Statistics:

"By 3 October grain and pulse crops (excluding corn) had been threshed on 102.5 million hectares, or 94 percent of the sown area.

"Some 92 percent of long-stemmed flax, 90 percent of potatoes, 68 percent of sunflowers, 61 percent of vegetables, and 55 percent of sugar beets have been harvested. Corn for grain has been cut on 2.7 million hectares—427,000 hectares more than last year.

"Winter crops have been sown on 36.1 million hectares—93 percent of the plan. Fall plowing has been carried out on 74 million hectares."

The review continues: "Although it is already October, it is early, still too early, to sum up the results of the farming year. Because to say that it was extremely complex is essentially to say nothing. And it will generally be hard to make any unambiguous assessment. In the Altay, for example, where grain-harvesting combines have left the fields, grain growers are already giving the yield figure: The average is somewhere around 12.9

quintals per hectare. Little, of course. But let us remember that when harvesting was still only just beginning and we were trying to forecast the yield, the leaders of the Altay Agro-Industrial Committee could not venture to name such a figure—they were expecting worse.

"Of course, such amendments to preliminary estimates are gratifying. Here, for example, is an interesting report from Irkutsk. There the millionth tonne of grain since the start of harvesting has been sent from the fields to the threshing floors. The average yield is really unprecedented for the Angara region—18.6 quintals per hectare."

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 October 1988 Second Edition carries on page 2 under the headline "Winter Draws On..." a 1,000-word Ye. Grigoryev agricultural review which cites the following USSR State Committee for Statistics figures, which differ from the IZVESTIYA report: "By 3 October grain and pulse crops (excluding corn) had been cut on 103.1 million hectares—95 percent of the crop area. Corn has been harvested from 17.1 million hectares—85 percent of the plantations."

## Scientific

### Scientist Describes Space Observatory Telescope

*LD0610144088 Moscow in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia 2000 GMT 29 Sep 88*

[From the "Our Mail" feature, presented by Lida Popova]

[Text] We have only 3 to 4 minutes left, so we will use them to reply to Dragomir Ristic's question on space. Dragomir and all those interested in the problems of space will probably know that our country is planning to launch in 1992 a unique space observatory, Spectar-Roentgen-Gamma. They will also know that the instruments and equipment for the observatory are being developed by scientists from over 15 countries, including leading capitalist states. To give you a better picture of the observatory, I shall use a comparison: In the course of 24 hours it will be able to gather as many pieces of scientific information as the astrophysical module Kvant, on the Soviet orbital station Mir, collects in the course of 1 month.

We have asked one of the directors of the project, Rashid Syunyayev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, to tell us about the new space observatory.

[Syunyayev in Russian with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] We hope that this project will provide us with a large amount of information about the past and future of the universe. It will tell us when galaxies and quasars were formed, because the observatory's telescopes will have exceptional power of penetration. To give you a general picture of the X-ray telescope, here are some facts about it: The overall area of its mirrors will amount to 130 square meters. There is nothing like it in the world at the moment. This will be an exceptionally precise system. A total of 145 mirrors will be slotted into each other and, once in space, it will function as a gigantic reflector. To compare, the most powerful optical telescope on earth, with a 6-meter diameter mirror, can detect a match flame from a distance of 10,000 km. The X-ray telescope will be several billion times more sensitive.

The new Soviet space orbital observatory will carry not just one, but about 20 such telescopes and similar extrasensitive instruments. In my view, there is no need to say how important this will be for astronomy and future space research, Syunyayev says.

### Cosmonauts 'Feel Well,' Prepare for Space Walk

*LD0610182588 Moscow TASS in English 1342 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—TASS correspondent reporting from the mission control centre:

Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Valeriy Polyakov continue their mission aboard the orbital complex Mir.

Today the crew will conduct geophysical and medical experiments and carry out maintenance of some onboard systems of the complex.

The international programme for astrophysical experiments "Roentgen" provides for several sessions to observe the supernova in the Great Magellanic Cloud and the Roentgen pulsar in the Hercules constellation.

Preparations for a space walk have started. The cosmonauts will have to continue their work to replace a detector unit of one of the Roentgen telescopes mounted on the outer surface of the Kvant module. The Progress-38 cargo spacecraft has brought to the complex additionally tools and equipment to complete the planned operations.

On the results of the medical check-up, Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Valeriy Polyakov feel well.

The flight is proceeding normally.

## Military

### Foreign Journalists Visit ICBM Base in Ivanovo

*LD0610165188 Moscow TASS in English 1635 GMT 6 Oct 88*

["Foreign Journalists Visit Soviet Ballistic Missile Base"—TASS headline]

[Text] Ivanovo, Central Russia October 6 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev:

As a further sign of glasnost, or greater openness, in Soviet society, the Defence Ministry of the USSR has invited about 40 foreign and Soviet journalists to visit an inter-continental ballistic missile base located 250 kilometres north of Moscow.

Representatives of major news agencies, television companies, newspapers and magazines from 13 countries, including the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan, today inspected two silos, one of which contained an inter-continental ballistic missile, RS-10.

The missile, known in the West as SS-11, roughly corresponds by its tactical and technical properties to the U.S. Minuteman-2 missile. Maj.-Gen Ivan Verskov explained that the missile was on combat duty and had a fully equipped single nuclear warhead.

The range and yield of its missile were sufficient for hitting any target around the world, he said.

On security measures, Maj.-Gen. Ivan Verskov explained that they were required not so much for ensuring secrecy, but for guaranteed prevention of unauthorized use of these weapons.

"I'm a veteran in the armed forces," said the 45-year-old general, "but it is for the first time that I'm seeing foreign journalists at an ICBM launch-pad. This is a vivid manifestation of the Soviet leadership's new political thinking."

"My dad died in the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945), so I decided to devote my life to the defence of the country and peaceful life of the people," Verskov said.

"As a military person, I will sincerely welcome the conclusion of a treaty that would halve strategic offensive weapons. This, in my view, fully corresponds to the principle of sensible sufficiency contained in the Soviet defensive doctrine."

In organizing the tour of the ICBM launch facility, the Soviet side had displayed goodwill and set an example of openness, which was required for establishing greater confidence between the USSR and the United States, Maj.-Gen. Verskov said.

"It is only on the basis of mutually acceptable solutions that it is possible to reach an agreement that would decrease by half the arsenals of destructive weapons and bring manking much closer to its dream of universal disarmament."

## TV Reports Visit

*LD0610214088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Today, for the first time, foreign and Soviet journalists visited the intercontinental ballistic missile launch pad in Ivanovo Oblast, at the invitation of the USSR Ministry of Defense. This report from our special correspondents:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent V. Lobachenko] This is the first time that Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles have been seen on television in operational launch position. This is the missile operations base in Ivanovo Oblast, and at this moment there is an RS-10 missile—known in the West as SS-11—in operational readiness. Nonetheless, today, for the first time in the history of the Soviet strategic missile troops, foreign and Soviet journalists have paid a visit to an intercontinental ballistic missile launch pad. Correspondents from the United States, Britain, China, and other countries have today witnessed a new demonstration of glasnost and good will by the Soviet Union, of our striving to continue and develop the disarmament process. [video shows sign on fence reading "Stop! Go back! Prohibited zone!" Camera moves to show building inside the fence; missile nosecone seen protruding from a circular silo surrounded by journalists; officer shown explaining a diagram entitled 'Launch Pad With Missile'] [passage omitted: Finnish, U.S. and Chinese journalists interviewed briefly on the advantages of glasnost]

In August many of these journalists visited the Soviet missile bases in Saryozek and Kapustin Yar, where the practical implementation of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles began with the blowing up of the first Soviet missiles. But that treaty is merely the first step along the road of disarmament. The agenda of the Soviet-U.S. talks includes the question of reducing strategic offensive arms—and reducing the RS-10 missiles by 50 percent.

[Video shows Major General I.V. Vershkov being interviewed by Lobachenko] We have adopted a defensive doctrine. Therefore, I am certain that the reductions being carried out will have no effect on the principle of defensive sufficiency. We have no intention of attacking or threatening anybody. The remaining missiles, however, will satisfy the defense requirements of our country and of our allies. [end recording]

## Soviet Admirals on Alleged Submarine Incursions

*AU0610133088 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 5 Oct 88 p 3*

[Interview with Admiral Vitaliy Ivanov, commander of the Soviet Baltic Fleet, and Rear Admiral Yevgeniy Chabanov, deputy commander for combat training of the Baltic Fleet, by unnamed NOVOSTI correspondent: "Propaganda Myth on the Subject of Submarines"—date, place not given]

[Text] Recently an exercise of forces from different services took place in the Baltic, with the aim of further improving their coordinated action in Soviet coastal

defense. During the maneuvers, Admiral Vitaliy Ivanov, commander of the Baltic Fleet, and his deputy responsible for combat training, Rear Admiral Yevgeniy Chabanov, answered questions from a NOVOSTI correspondent.

Question: In Sweden the issue of the unauthorized entry of Soviet submarines into Swedish territorial waters is raised from time to time. In 1980 such an incident did take place, for which the Soviet Union apologized. What measures are being taken to prevent the repetition of similar incidents?

Admiral V. Chabanov: If we are objective, we must admit that no state that has a navy is protected against such incidents. The incident in question was not premeditated, as it resulted from a failure in the navigational equipment. It was not an reconnaissance mission, but an error in fixing its exact position that led the submarine astray into Swedish territorial waters.

Rear Admiral Ye. Chabanov: At the time the submarine commander was severely punished, and the first mate—a captain first rank—was dismissed from the service.

Admiral V. Ivanov: Speaking from my service experience with the Main Staff of the Navy until 1985, and as commander of the Baltic Fleet, I can categorically state that no Soviet submarine approaches Swedish territorial waters closer than 50-70 km. To ensure this, we have restricted the zones of operation of submarines and surface vessels. It is true that, because of pilot error, navy aircraft occasionally "graze against" the air space of the other country. In all such cases we make official apologies and severely punish those responsible for the violations.

Question: Some time ago documents were submitted to the USSR on the operations of midget submarines, allegedly belonging to the Soviet Union, inside Swedish territorial waters. What can you say on this subject?

Admiral V. Ivanov: As a submarine specialist, I was directly concerned with examining the materials of the underwater photographs transmitted through the USSR Foreign Ministry to the Main Staff of the Navy, and succeeded yet again in convincing myself of the extent of the achievements of the modern underwater film camera operator, of how far he is now able to simulate actions of all kinds....

I declare that these were counterfeit documents intended not for professionals, but for credulous people who do not know how a submarine operates at sea. Moreover, these materials contained the allegation that Soviet submarines, under chain drive [na verizhen khod], creep inside the skerries off the Swedish coast and carry out reconnaissance there. True, the organizations engaged in research in the world oceans do possess bathyscaphes and other submarine vehicles, but we have no miniature naval submarines.

There is another point. Do you think that American intelligence is powerful or not? Of course it is. Yet have the Americans ever stated on any occasion that we possess miniature submarines or chain-driven [verizhni] submarines? On no occasion has U.S. intelligence ever stated anything of the kind, because such submarines do not exist.

I would not like to guess what prompted the Swedish authorities to create this story, but it is a very good thing that the leaderships of both states proved equal to the challenge and made no move toward confrontation. We highly value the neutrality of Finland and Sweden and, for our part, will support this neutrality through confidence measures.

Question: Do foreign submarines enter Soviet territorial waters?

Admiral V. Ivanov: Yes, such cases do occur, not in the Baltic, but in the operating areas of the Northern and Pacific Fleets. It is impossible in the case of every such incident to confirm unequivocally whether the entry of the submarine was premeditated or the result of error. Accordingly, when we detect foreign submarines within our territorial waters we do not use weapons. We first transmit signals, listed in the international publications for seafarers, to the foreign submarine that it is located inside our territorial waters. This gives the commander a chance to realize that he has violated the border of a foreign state, and to take measures to leave the foreign waters.

Rear Admiral Ye. Chabarov: If the foreign submarine fails to react to the signals, we drive it out of our waters by a hydroacoustic operation.

Admiral V. Ivanov: Weapons may only be used if the submarine makes use of its own weapons.

### Baltic Fleet Disciplinary Life Described

*PM0710092588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Oct 88 First Edition p 2*

[Article by correspondent Captain 2d Rank A. Pilipchuk: "Disciplinary Company"]

[Text] Baltic Fleet—The unit duty officer closed the grille door behind me and abruptly shot the metal bolt across, like the bolt of an assault rifle. And only then did it dawn on me that a person's dearest possession was left on the other side of the door—freedom. The separate disciplinary company began on this side....

At first sight a military unit like any other. A seamen's formation was marching across the drill field, singing "The Soldier Will Return...." But I could hear that they were singing somehow joylessly, without soul, with a sense of constraint. And here was another formation—in the uniform of the marines, with assault rifles over their shoulders. They were marching in silence, although I

could sense that if they struck up a song, it would soar to the clouds.... Life has separated the two groups into convicts, deprived of freedom by verdict of a court and because of the escort guarding them day and night. And the unit itself is divided up into large, small, and production zones. The large zone contains the guard platoon barracks, the mess hall, the club, and the directorate building. The small zone contains the barracks for convicts. The production zone contains a small shop for producing fenders and mats, and a proving ground for ferroconcrete products. There are towers at the corners of the high fence, with a lace mantle of barbed wire.

The need for correctional institutions has not yet passed. The disciplinary unit is one of them, where enlisted servicemen and military construction workers who have transgressed Soviet laws serve their sentence.

A crime committed by a soldier or seaman lies like a shameful stain on the army and fleet full-dress blouse, and elicits a special response from the people. It is remembered, above all, that the criminal is a serviceman, and sometimes it is forgotten that active service is just a comparatively small part of the life and social experience of a USSR citizen. However, sending convicts to a disciplinary unit has the purpose of reeducating them in the spirit of an honest attitude, not only toward military service proper but also toward labor, strict observance of the USSR Constitution and the Soviet laws, and respect for the rules of socialist communal life. The chief means of correcting and reeducating convicts is the procedure and regime laid down for serving sentences in disciplinary units, socially useful labor, political educational work, and combat and political training.

People who are not informed about the regime of disciplinary units say all sorts of things. In actual fact, the daily routine for disciplinary convicts provides for 8 hours' sleep and 8 hours' work. Convicts are fed according to the soldiers' norm, three times a day. In the separate disciplinary company commanded by Major V. Podobed they run quite a sizable subsidiary farm: cows, steers, hogs. In charge of all this is Seaman S. Demyanenok, a disciplinary convict who, as someone who has embarked firmly on the path of correction, is allowed to move around unescorted.

Transfer to the category of trusties, after serving one-third of their term, is one form of incentive used by the disciplinary company commander and the public council. After serving half their term, convicts among the trusties may be recommended for parole. Violators of the procedure and regime laid down in the disciplinary company are punished in being deprived of the next meeting with relatives or close friends (4 hours, once a month), by detention for up to 15 days in the guardhouse, bread and water punishment [strogiy arest] for up to 10 days, and expulsion from the category of trusties.

By verdict of the court, people sentenced for various crimes—for the most part, for violations of service regulations governing relationships—serve their sentence in a separate disciplinary company: So the rumors of supposed impunity for "dedovshchina" [bullying by senior servicemen] are exaggerated.

I have on the table in front of me a pile of cardboard files—the "cases" of disciplinary convicts. Copies of the court verdict and photographs—profile and full-face....

Seaman O. Simutin, disciplinary convict. In military service since the fall of 1985. Sentenced 2 weeks before transfer to the reserve. He told a young seaman to fetch matches so that he could light up. He gave up waiting and sought out the "disobedient" guy. His colleague tried to act independently. And he at once received several "starlings"—punches in his chest and then in his face. Prior to that incident Simutin had already received a prosecutor's office warning for arguing with and being rude to commanding officers, and for insulting a greenhorn's dignity. Sentence: 2 years and 6 months in a disciplinary battalion.

Seaman M. Vybornov, disciplinary convict. In military service since the spring of 1987. During administrative work he decided to teach a lesson to a young colleague who, in his view, was working lazily. He used his fists. Sentence: 2 years in a disciplinary battalion.

Seaman B. Zaytsev, disciplinary convict. In military service since the spring of 1986. He ended up on trial 18 months later: He beat up a young seaman for allegedly smoking in the motor pool. Sentence: 3 years in a disciplinary battalion....

These are the most characteristic situations manifesting the notorious "dedovshchina": attempts to lord over colleagues drafted later than yourself, to shift onto their shoulders some of your own official duties and personal cares, to "instill order" in a subunit the way you yourself understand it, to create a privileged position for yourself....

Even here—behind a high fence—some convicts do not at once become aware of the pernicious nature of their behavior, and you can sense in their words hints of nostalgia for the times when junior colleagues in the barracks obeyed them at the wave of a hand. Simutin spoke very frankly about this: "It is depressing that you are led under escort, while the escorts have served less time than you have...." Acting as judge and jury to himself, Simutin constantly finds justification for himself, and his inner "advocate" easily defeats his inner "prosecutor":

"When I was a young seaman, senior servicemen harassed me 'for sport'—with push-ups and squats to the point of exhaustion.... For the first 6 months of service I did not lay eyes on white bread or sugar—the 'yearlings' [godki] wolfed the lot."

Closing the vicious circle, Simutin awaited his hour to vent his accumulated grudge on those who were drafted after him. And in a letter to those at "liberty" Vybornov, already a convict, lectured his former colleagues: "Persecute the youngsters, only do it cleverly...."

The lines of this letter sound like a warning to commanders and political workers: A disciplinary unit is not a panacea against all ills. You leaf through the "cases," chat with disciplinary convicts, and become increasingly convinced that you cannot conquer "dedovshchina" (in the fleet it is nicknamed "godkovshchina") with "saber" charges. The following figures are eloquent: Four people from the hydrographic ship where Seaman R. Kulmukhamedov served (he is now serving his sentence in a disciplinary company) were sentenced, as were two from the marine engineering service section where Seaman A. Fomenko, now a convict, served.... But, as Major A. Tsyplakov, chief of the marine engineering service section, admitted, for example, concerns about asserting real regulation order have not disappeared with the sentencing of Vybornov and Fomenko....

The gross violation of the norms of regulation relationships is the most shameful phenomenon that our Army has ever experienced. This is why those commanders and political workers who give in to it, who fail to struggle persistently and skilfully enough to eradicate barracks hooliganism, must be called to account first of all. It was to them that the judgment of the court which tried the case of former military construction worker A. Sharapin (his surname has been changed at his request) was addressed: "In the unit there are serious omissions and shortcomings in educational work to prevent nonregulation relationships." The court made a perfectly objective assessment of affairs in the military collective. But after studying Sharapin's case and chatting with him, I would also like to ask this question: Did not the court stop half way in its conclusions as to what, in toto, led the 20-year-old guy to be deprived of his freedom?

Prior to serving in the fleet, Aleksandr Sharapin lived in Sevastopol, and after graduating from agricultural vocational and technical college he worked at a ship repair plant. He was arrested more than once by the militia for fighting and for trying to steal a motorcycle. At the agricultural vocational and technical college, by Sharapin's own admission, city students would go into the hostel to "shake up" their out-of-town comrades-in-studies. "'Shaking up' means seizing money," Sharapin calmly explained, without a trace of embarrassment.

More than 60 percent of the convicts in the disciplinary company are agricultural vocational and technical college graduates, and more than 30 percent come from disadvantaged families. Pictures of physical health but morally jaded, they bring their customary relationships with them when they enter service: Today I am underneath, tomorrow I will be the boss.

It is not part of the regulations governing military service to make allowances to commanders and political workers for the "contingent," that is, for the good state of the reinforcements arriving in units—they are liable for everything. But the time is ripe to raise in all earnestness the question of common responsibility—of the family, public education, labor collectives, the Armed Forces—for educating the young generation of Soviet citizens.

Society and the Army are linked vessels, in which moral values sit at the same level. One has to be convinced of this from the extremely negative examples. There was a time when elements of prison procedures were manifested in a disciplinary company. They were introduced by those convicts for whom an investigatory solitary confinement cell was defined as the measure to secure their appearance during the investigation. It was through them that criminals' ideology was introduced into a disciplinary but still military unit: Confess to nothing ("tell a pack of lies") ["lepi otmazki"], don't seek parole (be a "holdout"), don't work.... On the other hand, individual officers and ensigns closed their eyes to the fact that the attitude of the guard platoon personnel toward convicts sometimes assumed an appreciable hint of lawlessness.

Maj V. Podobed and Lieutenant Commander V. Ovechko have devoted considerable time and energy to the newly appointed commander and political worker in order to smash the old procedures and create an atmosphere according as fully as possible with the tasks of reeducation and correction.

So what kind of people are they when they leave here? There simply is no clear answer to this question, as the statistics have not been worked out. However, some data is being accumulated in the company nevertheless. It is being collected by the commander in the units to which a certain number of paroled convicts return to complete their service (the time spent in the disciplinary battalion does not count as military service, with very few exceptions). They also write here themselves. As a rule, they are grateful for having been taught to take an honest attitude to work and gain an understanding of other people.... While I was there, the company received a letter from an ex-convict: He asked whether it would be possible for him to come back as a warrant officer.

Maj Podobed recalled the surnames of those of his charges to whom he had given character references for joining the Komsomol, and for entering higher academic institutions.... But there are also other cases: Several former disciplinary convicts have left "civilian life" for correctional labor colonies. As a rule, they are former "holdouts."

I have heard military legal experts say in this connection that disciplinary units can and must do more to reeducate conscripts who have transgressed the law. It would be expedient, for example, to divide disciplinary battalions according to the severity of the conditions, so as not

to put together those who have committed an unpremeditated crime or a crime of negligence and those who have repeatedly and persistently broken the law while in service. And another point. The majority of released convicts return to their units having completely forgotten the military skill for which they were trained, and they do not acquire another in its place. So why are disciplinary convicts not simply assigned to a range of operations and oriented toward mastering labor skills? In short, the disciplinary battalion has its own problems, which must be studied and solved in the spirit of the changes taking place everywhere else in the country. So that as many ex-convicts as possible leave notes like this one I happened to read: "You can leave the disciplinary battalion in two ways: Having honestly atoned for your guilt or as a 'holdout.' I have atoned for my guilt...."

**Reader Urges Restructured Enlistment Terms**

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[Letter from A. Korotkov of Pavlovsk, Leningrad Oblast, carried as part of feature under the rubric "Letters '...Not for Publication'": "Service Reflected in Figures"]

[Text] I wish to touch on the subject of our Armed Forces. What do we know about their strength and about the cost to society of maintaining the Army? The people must know the cost of everything that is carried out in our country and control all spending. Especially as military spending amounts to very large sums.

We have made a bold and responsible decision—to eliminate all intermediate- and shorter-range missiles on a mutual basis. Next in line is the conclusion of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic missiles. What next? I believe that it is possible (again on a mutual basis) also to reduce the strength of our Army. And this can be done by reducing service times in the Armed Forces from 2-3 years to 12-18 months, for example. Such comparatively short service times in the Army have been introduced in many countries. Thus, the service time in France stands at 12 months (data taken from the Great Soviet Encyclopedia, third edition). We must also think about how to man our Armed Forces. Perhaps it makes sense to man the Army not only in accordance with the law on compulsory military service, but also on a voluntary basis.

A restructuring of the Armed Forces which accords with the requirements of reasonable sufficiency and the rational use of state funds could accelerate the resolution of many socioeconomic problems in the country.

And a final point. So that Defense Ministry staffers or anyone else do not accuse me of failing to understand the role of reliable defense, I will tell them that I have experienced what war is like from the example of my own family. My father disappeared, my brother died, and close relatives perished. We do not want such horrors to be repeated. Defense must be reliable. But the money for these purposes must also be accounted for more strictly.